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AFTER negotiations conducted with mysterious secrecy, we have signed a treaty with Germany. Its prompt ratification seems a foregone conclusion. The reflective will find food for thought in comparing the treaty both with the immediate occasion of the war and with our avowed war aims. In this business-like document is no repudiation of submarine warfare, no guaranty of neutral rights in future wars. There is nothing to suggest that our part in a great war is ended by the triumph of the lofty ends which those who bade us fight told us made war holy. And no one marvels, for no one, in this year of grace, expected these things. But our rights under the treaty of Versailles are carefully guarantied. What are they? A voice in the disposition of Yap, and German recognition of the property rights of the favored capitalists who profited by Mitchell Palmer's unethical conduct as Alien Property Custodian. Yet even this treaty bears witness to the passing of hate; it formally inaugurates relations with the new Germany. It keeps America from underwriting the hypocritical and preposterous mess of compromises concocted at Versailles. For this, in the last analysis, we owe thanks to the Irreconcilables. True, their attitude at times was too narrowly nationalistic, but it is better to start over again to build the new international order than to build on wrong foundations.

FROM the Malabar district in South India come fragmentary dispatches telling of a serious uprising of Moslems against the British rule. Some of the accounts represent the rising as another illustration of the revival of the militant spirit of Islam. Hindu peasants, they say, suffered more than the British Raj. Which may or may not be British propaganda. Other accounts suggest that the rising is primarily a nationalist movement, a violent manifestation of the same sort of revolutionary feeling which lies behind Gandhi's peaceful non-cooperation movement. It is reported that Gandhi himself has been invited by a local nationalist council to see what he can do to direct the energies of these Moslems along his own lines. But whatever is or isn't true, this new revolt gives fresh proof of widespread Asiatic discontent with Western imperialism—a discontent not confined to India. It is an important subject, involving half the population of the globe. Why do our enterprising news associations leave us so carefully in the dark?

IN spite of the present deadlock Anglo-Irish peace is possible. To the New York *World* Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood has addressed a remarkable letter, making certain constructive suggestions as to a way out of the present impasse. After a careful review of the situation in the light of the words and deeds of the belligerents, he thus summarizes three fundamental conditions of settlement on which it is reasonable to hope that peace might be reached:

1. That notice of the denunciation of the truce be extended from 48 hours to 28 days.

2. That reciprocal assurances be given that armed coercion will not be substituted for conciliation in the dealings of the several parties with one another. President de Valera has given these assurances to the six counties [Northeast Ulster]. The six counties might now renounce coercion of their minority, at present subject to acute religious and civil persecution. And England might similarly renounce all intention to employ armed coercion toward Ireland.

3. That there be reciprocal recognition of the fact that the right of self-determination means the right to secede or to adhere. England insists that the six counties are entitled to that right; in fairness let her concede it to Ireland as a whole, on the basis that the secession issue will be decided by a plebiscite of a united Ireland, and not until such union has been achieved. [Elsewhere Mr. Wood suggests a definite time limit—say three years—for this plebiscite.]

These points he believes will conserve every legitimate English and Irish interest. We share his belief and heartily second his plea to "the leaders of Christendom" and all men of good will "to act, so to speak, as a mediatory body to persuade the belligerents to agreement."

"A POWDER mine ripe for blowing up" was Arthur Gleason's characterization of the West Virginia situation in *The Nation* for May 29, 1920. Since then there have been repeated explosions, of which the march of the miners is the biggest. Apparently this last act of war was spontaneous in its origin; certainly the responsible labor officials after conferring with General Bandholtz tried to

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call it off. They were not wholly successful and already there has been at least one engagement between the armed miners and the company-owned deputy sheriffs whose purpose it long has been to make Logan County a dead man's land to active union men. It is perfectly true and perfectly futile to say that the miners' army has taken the wrong way to protest against martial law and their other grievances. The point is, as every investigator has been saying for months, that independent, high-spirited mountaineers, used to firearms, are bound to resort to violence if they cannot organize and agitate peacefully. The New York *World* among other papers has criticized West Virginia for its absence of government. That is to misjudge the situation. Government, the miners have reason to feel, is the tool of the operators. Public officials are privately owned. Courts of justice under the famous Hinchman decision are active agents in denying the elemental right of the workers to organize. There is a Congressional committee to investigate the West Virginia situation. So far its activities have been negligible. What will it do now?

SECRETARY HUGHES was entirely right in thinking war between Costa Rica and Panama unnecessary and intolerable. He was right, too, in holding that both parties to arbitration should abide by the decision. Nevertheless we wish he could have found some way other than the threat of American military force to persuade Panama to yield. Might he not have achieved his end by referring the question to the judgment of a commission in which Latin-American nations were represented? If Panama had agreed to such an arrangement there might have been good-will where now there is none. Not without cause Latin-Americans regard the protective affection of the United States very much as the wise little frogs came to regard King Stork. And some of them remembering the circumstances of Panama's creation, regard us as dubious upholders of the sanctity of treaties. It pays to consider Latin-American opinion. Besides it is never good for the soul of any people to be as God, dispensing justice to its weaker neighbors according to its own will.

IT is officially announced that the President will act on no amnesty plea for Debs or any other political prisoner until the peace treaty with Germany has been ratified. Strange that we have enough of a peace to permit arch Hun haters like former Postmaster General Burleson to hurry over to Berlin after business, but not enough to let 'Gene Debs out of jail. For such a situation there's a reason. Is it fear of the American Legion and the rest of the 100 per centers?

ONE of the most hopeful events in months is the Franco-German agreement signed by Loucheur and Rathenau at Wiesbaden on August 27—a sort of supplementary separate peace, negotiated, not by opportunist politicians whose term in office depends upon their histrionic ability to play to the gallery, but by two hard-shelled business men. Loucheur's profiteering record in France is not such as to encourage extravagant hopes of the results of the agreement to the individuals who lost their homes in northern France, but the detailed treaty, providing for the establishment of a central clearing-house in Germany to supply German goods as required in northern France, and thus creating machinery for payment of a considerable part of the indemnity in goods, is an obvious milestone on the road leading back to common-sense relations between France and Germany. The broad outline of the scheme is substantially that which was presented by M. Seydoux and the other inter-Allied experts at Spa more than a year ago—and which was then rejected by the flag-waving politician-statesmen. If the treaty now obtains the necessary ratification, a long step toward the restoration of Europe will have been made.

IN commending the Disarmament Conference, the Vatican has issued a remarkable statement summarizing an opinion prepared, but not made public, in August, 1917:

> Disarmament is considered the most desirable condition for the peaceful intercourse of the nations, but it is feared that disarmament will never be arrived at without the abolition of conscription, so often termed the "tax of blood." The possibility of some nation refusing to accept the consequences of a decision for disarmament and obligatory arbitration was also the subject of thoughtful study on the part of the Holy See. The question of what steps should be taken if one of the nations sought to break through the conclusions by force of arms was discussed by the Cardinal Secretary of State, who made two important observations on this point. In the first place, he declared that, should compulsory military service be abolished, the fear of any nation breaking through would be very scant, because, if voluntary military service were sufficient to maintain public order and defend the State in its normal condition, an offensive war would be an impossibility. . . .

This opinion is sound. It was as true in 1917 as it is today. Why was it withheld? Simply because the once mighty Roman Catholic Church at a supreme moment in history had to bow to political expediency. Instead of denouncing the "tax of blood" in all so-called Christian lands; instead of showing how it made schism in the Body of Christ, and violated the conscience of thousands of Christians, he whom millions regard as the vicegerent of Christ on earth kept silence. And if in 1921 the nations still insist on conscription will the Church again abdicate its claim to moral leadership?

THERE has been something of a stir about the execution in New Jersey of a man named Brandon who had been convicted of outrageous murder. He, his wife, and his lawyer protested his innocence; his lawyer claimed to have found new evidence, establishing an alibi, which under Jersey law he could not present. Governor Edwards refused even a stay of the execution and Brandon, protesting his innocence, was forced into the electric chair. Comment on the case has dealt with the possibility of a "judicial murder," but Brandon on the face of things was a bad lot and his fate will soon be forgotten. We wish it had aroused the public to consider whether all capital punishment, even of the guilty, is not necessarily judicial murder. It reforms no criminals; it prevents no crime; it makes conviction more difficult in murder cases; it forces human beings deliberately and in cold blood to take the life of fellow human beings; it rouses the morbid passions of crowds which assemble around the jail whenever there is an execution.

MATHIAS ERZBERGER has been shot a second time, and this time killed. The deed is typical of the intensity of Nationalist passion in Germany today. Erzberger was leader of the Clerical Left; he was the author of the Reichstag peace resolution of July, 1917, chief ne-

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gotiator of the armistice, formulator of a vast income tax and capital levy plan. He was the power behind the Wirth Cabinet which was pledged to fulfilment of the Entente terms. He declared those terms possible of fulfilment. Those are the crimes which twice impelled young Nationalists to shoot at him. Those are the crimes which led the Nationalist press to besmirch his name with charges of political and financial dishonesty. Erzberger was, after all, a politician who played politics according to the current rules of the game. He was a better prophet than his fellows, that is all. The significance of the episode is the dramatic light it casts upon the free play of German reactionaries. They do what they will and go unpunished. In a striking summary recently published by the *Bund Neues Vaterland,* a comparison is made of the punishments inflicted upon members and supporters of the reactionary Kapp Government, and that inflicted upon the adherents of the Bavarian Soviet regime. A few Kapp officers were degraded; not a man was imprisoned. The prison terms imposed upon the Bavarian soviet officials total 519 years. Another summary shows 314 political murders by the Right within two years, with punishments therefor aggregating 31 years and one life sentence; and thirteen political murders by the Left, with punishment aggregating 176 years, and eight men condemned to death.

FEISAL, ex-king of Syria, sometime commander-in-chief of the Arab army which did much of General Allenby's work in freeing Palestine and Syria from the Turk, second son of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, has been proclaimed King of Irak. Irak is the latest—albeit very old—substitute for that blessed word Mesopotamia. Feisal is one of the strangest figures of our generation. With Colonel Lawrence, a blue-eyed young Oxford graduate, he led the Arab revolt that broke the power of the old Turkish Empire after the British navy, attacking a supposedly more vulnerable point, had failed. His father's Arab principality was recognized as a kingdom by France and Great Britain as part of their anti-Turk propaganda during the war; when the Peace Conference neglected them, Feisal in his picturesque Arab robes, and his Oxford friend, appeared before the Supreme Council and mildly suggested the probability of a massacre of foreigners in Syria unless the Conference admitted their two delegates. The Council saw the point; the names of Rustem Haidar and Abdul Hadi Aouni appear as signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. Feisal returned to Syria, and was shortly crowned king by the native notables. That conflicted with French colonial ambition. This time Colonel Lawrence was distant, and the British deserted Feisal; he was dethroned. He went to London, bitterly criticizing the French. Now he is king of another British-made kingdom, Irak. His father is still king of the Hedjaz; his brother, the Emir Abdulla, rules Trans-jordania; Feisal, ruling in the ancient city of Bagdad, is still a young man, and Western imperialism in the East is becoming old and decrepit.

OF course the metropolitan newspapers have pretty well settled it that Upton Sinclair—if they allude to him at all—is a base slanderer of our noble press who is entitled to no credence whatever. Yet "The Brass Check" contains little which equals the deliberate distortion by the Chicago *Tribune,* the "world's greatest newspaper," of George Bernard Shaw's recent letter to the editor of *The Nation.* "I have no intention," wrote Mr. Shaw in the letter which was printed in *The Nation* dated August 24, was carried by the *United Press* on August 18, and was widely reprinted, "of going to prison with Debs or taking my wife to Texas where the Ku Klux Klan snatches white women out of hotel verandas and tars and feathers them." The *Tribune* reprinted this letter on August 19 but struck out the words "Ku Klux Klan" and in their stead substituted "mobs." On August 16 the *Tribune* carried a full page advertisement of the Ku Klux Klan. Was it the several thousand dollars received from this society of organized terrorists that impelled the *Tribune* thus to edit Bernard Shaw?

NO cruder exhibition of tin-pot administrative bigotry has disgraced our educational annals than the expulsion of Robert T. Kerlin from Virginia Military Institute. Colonel Kerlin's offense as unblushingly presented to him was that "by reason of his interposition in the Elaine insurrection cases as exemplified by his letter to the Governor of Arkansas, reflecting upon the administration of justice in that State . . ." he "had rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable, and that his retention of professorship instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the institute was established would prove harmful and detrimental thereto." The letter in question (it was published in *The Nation* for June 15) was a noble, dignified, and inspiring appeal to conscience. It urged clemency for the wretched Negroes who, revolting against intolerable peonage and demanding merely their just rights, found themselves caught in the mesh of rioting. *The Nation* does not feel that Professor Kerlin is entitled to any condolences—on the contrary, it is the Virginia Military Institute that suffers. He was far too big a man for the place. What Southern institution will seize the opportunity to secure the services of this distinguished Southerner?

THE withdrawal of "Lightnin'" from the Gaiety Theater last week marked the close of the most astonishing "run" that a dramatic work has had in the history of our own or any other stage. More than twelve hundred consecutive performances of the play were given and its owners have already reaped a profit of nearly two millions. It is safe to predict that road companies and stock performances and eventually screen versions will carry knowledge of the play to the remotest parts of the country and increase the wealth both of the managers and of the author and chief actor, Mr. Frank Bacon, whose sudden rise to fame and fortune during the seventh decade of his life savors of both the fairy tale and the dime novel. We may well ask once more: What manner of play achieved this fabulous success? There can be but one answer: a shoddy and preposterous bit of melodrama. But it is necessary to add that in the center of this melodramatic action stands a character, Lightnin' Bill Jones, who represents human values of a delightful sort. He is worthless and lovable, unpractical, and knowing only in the needs of the heart. He lies and he guzzles. The sweetness of his nature carries him through. He did not reform and yet won the public heart. In the admiration elicited by such a character there is a good deal of moral sanity, tolerance, and kindliness. And since precisely these qualities have not recently shone among us, the success of "Lightnin'" may be regarded by the sociologist as wholesome and important.

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"At Least We Get Something to Eat"

THE other day a New York paper published the picture of a group of Americans who had enlisted in the Spanish army for the Moroccan War. They sold themselves to a shabby foreign imperialism for no love of adventure but because, as one of them said, "in the army at least we get something to eat." Stories like this have a way of sticking uncomfortably in the mind despite the soothing assurance of the New York *Times* that a "certain degree of unemployment is curative of many social disorders," or of the *Tribune* that the Labor Department's estimate of almost 6,000,000 unemployed must be wrong. President Harding deserves praise for facing the facts realistically and authorizing Mr. Hoover to call a representative conference on measures for dealing with unemployment.

It is high time for public action. Although there have been twice as many unemployed as in 1914-1915, there have been almost none of the bread lines and improvised work rooms of seven years ago. Labor has accomplished the astonishing task of financing itself through a year of depression. Hopes and dreams of better things have vanished with the forced sale of Liberty bonds, pianos, and other cherished possessions. Now another winter is coming. The small relief to industrial unemployment which farm work has afforded will end; and fuel as well as food and clothing must be provided. Workers deprived of work have few resources; the more fortunate will pile up debt at neighborhood stores, the less fortunate will water the soup and mend old garments with still older patches. In critical years the children's growth will be stunted; in the heart-breaking struggle not only their parents' happiness but their self-respect will go. Some of the unemployed will become unemployable. And society will pay a price no expert accountant can ever reckon.

Is the situation remediable? In answering the question it must be remembered that we are dealing with an acute development of a chronic disease. The Hoover Committee on the Elimination of Waste estimates that in the best years like 1917 and 1918 there was "a margin of unemployment amounting to more than a million men." The Committee adds a catalogue of evils resulting from this margin of unemployment. Yet there are economists of the school of Times Square who frankly regard the existence of the margin as a practical necessity for the business man who wants a docile and flexible labor supply. All radicals, of whatever school, agree that some degree of unemployment is necessarily characteristic of the present system, which cares less well for men than for machinery, and which feels even less sense of responsibility for the workers than a former master class for its chattel slaves. Unemployment, they insist, inevitably results under a system of landlordism where production is for private profit. For the present we are not concerned with this fundamental question save to point out that a valid answer to the radicals cannot be found in loud outcries against bolshevism but only in actual demonstration that capitalism can abolish unemployment.

The immediate question is whether anything can be done to relieve the acute catastrophe which seems to be already at our doors. We need not waste space to prove the obvious points: (1) That private charity is wholly inadequate; and (2) that whatever is to be done must be done under our present economic framework. No single tax, socialist, or communist society will between now and Christmas rescue the children who are crying for bread. What then is to be done? The European governments have had to face this problem in its most serious form since the armistice. Their experience shows that no nation alone can by any device wholly cure the ill. A solution depends upon right international economic relations. Yet there are not wanting conservative observers who believe that government doles or outright grants to the workers saved more than one European country from bloody revolution. These doles are, of course, open to plenty of objections, and as rapidly as possible one form or another of unemployment insurance is replacing them all over Europe from Lenin's Russia to Lloyd George's England. In Great Britain virtually all industrial workers, some 12,000,000 in number, are by the Act of 1920 brought under compulsory unemployment insurance.

America has lagged behind, although it is true that something has been done both by municipalities and by a few strong, far-seeing corporations which have established unemployment insurance. The American Association for Labor Legislation (131 East 23 Street, New York) has worked out a conservative, well balanced, and constructive program which it sends to inquirers. We summarize its points: (1) Establishment of public employment exchanges; (2) systematic distribution of public work. This includes not merely emergency work of various sorts but adjustment of regular work; (3) regularization of industry to abolish seasonal unemployment and the like; (4) unemployment insurance. The last is at best less good than work which the first three will do much to provide. But there will remain the need for insurance. The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor was lukewarm on this subject because Mr. Gompers and other leaders feared it was a scheme to "put a tag on the workers." European experience, under either the so-called Ghent scheme or the British system, scarcely warrants their fears. The International Labor Conference at Washington (whose recommendations on the whole ran parallel to those of the American Association) emphatically commended unemployment insurance with, of course, certain safeguards for the workers.

Months ago in commenting on this situation the New York *Globe* wrote: "Our economic machine is like the Irishman's roof. When it rains we can't fix it, and when it isn't raining we don't need to." It is raining now, but before the storm grows harder America can do something toward mending the roof. The President's Conference ought to take the lead in drawing up a well-articulated plan in which the Federal Government, States, municipalities, employers, and labor unions can cooperate. Even now we shall not escape the necessity of plain relief, some of it perhaps aided by public funds. Unemployment insurance cannot be established overnight in bad times. But we can make a beginning with it and with useful public work, such as road construction, the building of sorely needed school houses, and the like. It will be a national disgrace and a national calamity if the children of the workers whose labor is the foundation of our national prosperity cry for bread, and receive only the poor crumbs that fall from rich men's tables.

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The Navy Department Admits—

THOSE whose interest in the tragic events of the last six years in Haiti and Santo Domingo has been aroused, will do well to send for the printed report (Senate Resolution 112, Part I) of the first hearing before the Senatorial Committee which is inquiring into the American occupation and administration of these two Caribbean republics. For the Congressional investigation long sought by those who denounced the ruthless overthrow of Haitian and Dominican sovereignty has begun, and begun well. The committee consists of Senators McCormick of Illinois, chairman, Knox of Pennsylvania, and Oddie of Nevada, Republicans; Pomerene of Ohio, and King of Utah, Democrats. Its first publication, more than a hundred pages long, includes the full Memoir, presented by the delegates to the United States of the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, which was published in *The Nation* for May 25. It also includes statements by Mr. Horace G. Knowles, former American Minister to Santo Domingo, and by Dr. Henriquez y Carvajal, the lawful President of that republic, and memoranda prepared in the Navy Department, presenting for the first time its official defense of its course in Haiti and in Santo Domingo. Hitherto we had had only categorical denials of the charges that all was not perfect in the military administration of the island, and devious propaganda. But this official memorandum, while inevitably maintaining the Navy's policy of self-justification, demurrer, denial, and whitewash, makes for the first time certain significant and valuable admissions. The Department makes clear that for a year and a half before the conquest of Haiti, American warships had been diligently hovering about the Haitian seacoast—during the very period when missions from our State Department were unsuccessfully seeking to persuade the Haitians to sign treaties transferring their sovereignty to the United States, treaties which in far more exacting form were later forced through. It is admitted that marines had actually landed and established themselves at Cape Haitien—twenty-seven days before the brief outbreak of violence in Port-au-Prince, when President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was assassinated, which has hitherto been alleged by apologists as the immediate cause of intervention.

The Navy finally admits, too, in part at least, the truth about the *corvée* or forced road-labor. It caused such hardship and suffering among the Haitians that it was ordered discontinued, though not until it had been in effect for over a year, and "on October 1, 1918 [it] was forbidden in any form." Then follows a curious confession of military inefficiency. We quote the report: "But unfortunately through a misinterpretation of this order the *corvée* was continued in the Maissade-Hinche district for a while after this date. In order to make absolutely certain that this discontinuance was complete" a proclamation abolishing it again "was published on *August 22, 1919*." (Italics ours.) As to the execution of the law Rear-Admiral H. S. Knapp himself admits in a letter to Secretary Daniels, dated October 1, 1920 (after *The Nation's* articles had caused Mr. Harding to make the matter a campaign issue) that

> as time went on an abuse crept in; inhabitants of other sections than those through which the road passed were forced to work on the roads. This undoubtedly caused grave discontent, which was reflected in the attitude of the people. I find no authority for taking inhabitants from one section and making them work in another section, but I am convinced . . . that this was done.

The Senate inquiry will reveal how euphemistic a picture even this statement presents of the extraordinary system by which inoffensive Haitians were brutally seized in their homes, transported to distant parts of the island, forced to work under guard, herded into compounds, and beaten into submission or shot if they objected or attempted to escape. "Discontent," indeed! It was out of this enforced slavery that *cacoism*, the "banditry" of revolt against the alien oppressor, developed. But the abolition of the *corvée*, it seems, was beset with further difficulties: "Even then" [after the proclamation] writes Admiral Knapp, "the employment of *corvée* labor did not cease everywhere." And he tells of further orders given to stop it, and that "*in one or two instances it did not cease then.*" [Italics ours.]

The Senate committee deserves the support of all Americans who believe in fair dealing even with small, weak, and helpless countries, who see no place for ruthless imperialism in our foreign policy, who desire to make honorable amend for the errors committed through bureaucratic czarism, political cupidity, and general ineptitude. All whose testimony may be helpful are urged to communicate with Mr. Ernest Angell, counsel for the Haiti-Santo Domingo Society, at 50 Pine Street, New York City.

The Novelist Rebels

THE novelist hurled his pipe on the table: "I'm through!"

His friend saw the broken-backed copy of Hamsun's "Hunger" beside the pipe and understood. "The Comstockery has never touched you," he said soothingly. "You've told me, in addition, that you don't admire 'Jurgen.' Why do you cry before you're hurt?"

For a moment the novelist looked dangerous. Then he pulled himself together. "Mere expediency and comfort interest me little. Furthermore, my time would come."

"Are you going in for sex stuff?"

"I don't know," the novelist said broodingly, "whether there's any use in talking to one who can use that phraseology at all. Do you talk about government stuff or economic stuff or philosophy stuff in that way? Yet government and economics and even philosophy are not as important, not as central to human life as sex. That relation is our glory and shame, our deepest wound and its possible healing. What you, however, my dear fellow, are thinking of is not that human relation and instinct which is at the base of myth and religion and taboo and custom and a thousand agonies of the soul. You're thinking in terms of nasty stories and provocative pictures. You've got the Comstockian psychosis yourself."

The novelist's friend grinned. "I haven't, of course. I used the popular parlance to annoy you. Get down to brass tacks. What is your personal problem?"

The novelist grew less tense. He picked up his pipe and lit it. "American fiction," he said, "is getting solider almost daily. The last two years have surpassed everyone's hopes. But I'm convinced—and not I alone—that the relations between the sexes constitute the deepest and sorest problem of American life. No one has touched that problem except, perhaps, Aikman in 'Zell' and in a vibrant but not representative fashion, Evelyn Scott in 'The Narrow House.' The great task of the American novelist today is to illuminate and exhaust that problem as it has shaped

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itself under our peculiar circumstances of soul and sense, to——"

The friend interrupted. "I agree with you and I don't see your difficulty. You're not going in for the luscious or the fleshly. Written in your spirit the thing will pass."

The novelist seemed to shrink and collapse a little in his chair.

"The stupidity of the intelligent," he moaned. "It's appalling! The thing will pass, you say. The creative act in literature is not analogous to a milliner's trimming a hat that will sell. To have to consider what will pass or not pass with the Society for the Prevention of Vice cripples the artist *ab integro* and from within. It paralyzes his impulse, vitiates his perceptions, defiles his very sensibilities, and reduces him to the spiritual level of the imbeciles in fear of whom he must work!"

"That," said the friend, "is a flagrant overstatement."

"Oh, is it?" the novelist jeered. "Well, you've never, as I might have expected, really examined the psychical grounds of human actions, not even of your own. But let me tell you that the spiritual character of most human actions is determined, even subjectively mark you, not by their real character or consequences, but by a social prejudgment of them which has usually been crystalized in some ugly and deprecatory name. For instance: It often happens in life that a man sees clearly that a self-regarding action will best serve all the higher values which both he and his kind uphold. But the imputation of self-regardingness, as such, induces in the acting individual a feeling of moral discomfort and constraint. It is profoundly true that, in spite of their better knowledge, men cannot as a rule act rightly in the deeper sense, but only correctly in reference to the majority, that is to say, the least intelligent, standard of their time and place. That's why all saviors are crucified. They are the few who can act rightly from within. They have an autonomous integrity of soul. Hence the mob considers them criminals. Their words are always seditious or immoral; their books are always burned by whatever hangman happens to be convenient."

"And you," the friend said, "can't, if I understand it, rise to that height."

"Exactly," the novelist said. "It isn't that I don't want to; it isn't that I care more for royalties than for righteousness. But, like most modern writers, I haven't the requisite psychical energy, aloofness, inner resilience. I write a passage that I believe to be as true as it is important. I know what will be thought of it in certain quarters. A thin psychical slime seems to creep over it right here in the quietude of my study. I no longer face it and its content alone. Between it and myself has fallen the shadow of the Comstockery, of my publisher's mingled bravado and desire to avoid trouble, of my friends' over or under interpretation of it, of—oh, of a hundred influences. Well, suppose I resist all that and obey the voice of my inner rectitude and publish. And suppose ignorance and fanaticism make their accustomed noise. I shall feel affronted and defiled in my innermost self. People will snigger and nudge each other. Pah!"

"That's weakness!"

"Of course it is. But it's a common weakness and not an ignoble one. Hence my point is: We must destroy the censorship not because it forbids books but because it corrupts souls. Until it is destroyed I would rather sell cabbages than write novels."

"Money Making for Ladies"

THIRTY-NINE years ago a little book with the above title was published by Harper's. Let any woman who frets under the checks which lie in the way of her livelihood read and ponder.

Chapter 1 invites the "lady" to keep boarders; Chapter 12 to keep bees. And in between the choice is almost bewildering: fancy-work and mending, making baskets out of shells, reading aloud, being mistress of a "tasteful little store, with a few cheap Chinese oddities" and tea, which "could be managed by proxy"—with any one of these she might have eked out her income as befits a lady.

Nor are intellectual pursuits overlooked. "Literature and writing" is described as pleasant if not highly profitable. Indeed, it was apparently even less well rewarded, pecuniarily, than it is today, and if a struggling author doubts the possibility of that statement let him hear: "Harper's periodical pays about ten dollars for a thousand words; the *Atlantic Monthly* about the same price per page." A publisher is quoted as confessing that " 'to Mr. Cooper he paid $1,800 for a novel,' " " 'to Mr. James he paid $1,200,' " and that " 'to Messrs. Willis, Longfellow, Bryant, and Alston his price was uniformly $50 for a poetical article long or short; and his readers know that they are generally short.' " Of course not every lady was gifted with a talent for literature, but "literary merit," the author is not afraid to say " . . . is by no means necessary to moneyed success." The reviewer of a popular novel tells her that " 'given at any time a catching title, . . . and an abundance of advertising, and what trifle of the kind could not be forced into large circulation?' " It may be that we have such novels today, but where have we such a reviewer!

Although disposing of directing envelopes and similar tasks as "regular office-work, and quite out of the question for a lady," the author does not allow her delicacy to interfere with plain statement. Thus when she discusses keeping boarders, that first refuge of a lady in distress, she says: "Half a dozen rooms . . . would bring a much handsomer profit with far less care, than if the number were doubled and filled with impecunious clerks and struggling young married couples." Oh charity, oh womanly tenderness! Think of the impecunious clerks who, lunching on an apple and scrupulously laying by a certain sum each week, have since risen to be captains of industry; count up the struggling young married couples who have turned out to be the parents of presidents and senators. Do not these noble-hearted offspring of the lowly invariably remember their landladies with the most gratitude of all?

Still, every lady could not keep boarders. But there was no need for despair; the poorhouse doors might still remain closed. "A tall, gracefully shaped vase—which, for this purpose, could be painted a dull Indian-red, or have cambric of this color drawn tightly over it—filled with plumes of feather-grass, cat-tails, thistle pompoms, milkweed-pods, and seed-vessels of various kinds, artistically mingled with ferns, bright leaves, and vines, would be a very simple ornament and yet a very salable one. The vase should be large enough to stand on the floor, while its contents should reach halfway to the ceiling." Where are the red cambric vases of yesterday? Gone—with the hair-cloth sofas and the wax flowers and the painted shells. The world may not progress—but at least it moves!

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The International Position of Soviet Russia

By GEORGE CHICHERIN

CONQUERORS and conquered, old monarchies, reactionary republics, or revolutionary soviets, we are all caught in the crisis initiated by the World War. The same need to produce and to eat dominates the policy of all. We are associated in a common task of reconstruction, however differently we view it, and this primordial need creates an imperious link between the soviet republics and the capitalist countries and serves as a necessary basis for their inevitable cooperation. Treaties already bind us and others will bind us more; we are making mutual concessions in the most important political questions. There is, to be sure, another revolutionary plane upon which there is eternal opposition between the states where capital dominates and those where the wage-earners have seized power. Hence the contradictions of our present-day political life, hence the changes and somersaults in Lloyd George's and in Count Sforza's Russian policies. The existence of these two social worlds holding each other by the throat still further complicates the infinitely bizarre political checkerboard.

Never before have politics been so purely a matter of economics. The need of food, of fuel, of blast furnaces, of raw materials dominates political life. The period following the Treaty of Versailles has been marked by progressive disappearance of the political structure which had been built upon economic forces. Even the nationalism of the peoples recently oppressed, which at first glance seems irresistible, if closely regarded is seen to be a docile plaything in the hands of the great world interests. In reality these interests are tearing at each other, and the play of the passions and aspirations, demands, needs, and traditions of the little nationalities are hiding the unengaging truths of the sordid interests of the old capitalist world.

There is more reality and solidity to the strategic interests of the great Powers; but since the signing of the treaty these interests have more and more given way to immediate economic needs. The principal contradiction between the policy of England and that of France is that England was first to cast aside strategic considerations and to consider Germany from a purely economic point of view—hence her desire to preserve her as a strong effective organism. France, blinded by purely military considerations and by mad fear of future German invasion, constantly sacrifices the general interest of reconstruction to her end of crushing or dismembering Germany.

Oil and coal are the two essential forces which dominate present-day diplomacy—and perhaps even more than these, wheat. The victory failed to give the great capitalist Powers the raw materials which they craved. The general-staff policy has made matters worse, and it is in order to get grain, to get raw materials in general, that the capitalist enemies of the Soviet Republic today stretch out their hands and seek a *modus vivendi* which would make joint action possible. Governments no longer fight to export capital, as was the chief purpose of the diplomatic struggles and political combinations of the preceding period of history. The chancelleries today bid for imports. It is to get imports, raw materials, that the British and the other governments sign treaties with Russia. That economic interdependence which the Treaty of Versailles scorned is, like revolutionary Russia, revenged by the idle industries of the great capitalist countries. Economic interdependence imposes the policy of compromise which characterizes the period. Forced by the need of economic reconstruction, Soviet Russia enters as an established government into the society of existing governments.

The first purpose, then, of Russia's foreign policy is to make economic collaboration with the other countries possible. For that we need peace. That requires mutual concessions, and our present diplomatic activity is largely concerned with these concessions.

Our relations with England are significant. England's dominant position in the economic world has naturally given her statesmen an exceptional breadth of view. Lloyd George's speeches and policies display a broad comprehension of the fundamental interests of capitalist society. None of the other capitalist statesmen have so clearly grasped the immense role of economic interdependence in the present world crisis or the inevitability of cooperation between the capitalist and communist states. He even hopes to modify the nature of the workers' and peasants' revolution by the natural play of this economic interdependence. We have no illusions about Lloyd George's attitude to us. The Anglo-Russian treaty is merely a point of departure; good relations can be the fruit only of long-continued efforts, during which our young proletarian diplomacy must always be on its guard to see that the agreements are kept. The very divergence in the political interests of our two governments in Asia was one of the considerations which led the British Government to compromise with us there. The Soviet Republic will faithfully and fully keep its promises, but the task of diplomacy may be long, for the mere existence of the workers' power gives rise to political phenomena harmful to British interests in Asia.

Quite other is the attitude of France. Only the fear of still more terrible ills has kept England and France from general conflict. Their political views are profoundly divergent, their economic methods are diametrically opposed, they are at odds in Germany and in Poland, their policies differ in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Turkey, and in Asia Minor. Their Russian policies are a constant and ill-concealed duel. The French Government is inspired by an irreconcilable hate of Soviet Russia. Even in 1917, before Soviet Russia denounced the Czar's debts, French hate was keen. Behind all the intrigues directed against us we find the hand of France. And yet French capital would profit by the establishment of normal relations with us. Strategic and military considerations determine her policy. Fear of a revived Germany, the desire to form a strong alliance against that future danger, bound the French Government to the Czarist generals who promised a renewal of the old Poincaré alliance. Still the most striking feature of present French policy is the gradual substitution of economic and industrial considerations for the purely military system. France today seeks not a mere means of exerting pressure upon Germany, but a *gage productif;* her cynically avowed purpose is to control the

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coal and iron of the Ruhr. In Silesia the French seek to seize the underground riches through the Poles whom they dominate. Even in Poland France aims to profit by Polish oil and to market her surplus merchandise. The commercial treaty just imposed upon Poland amounts to pillage. In Asia Minor—where the French press urges the Entente to defeat Russia's foreign policy by heaping gifts upon Turkey, thus making Turkey an anti-bolshevist bulwark—the substance of the draft treaty negotiated with Bekir Sami is a cynical appropriation of the best parts of Anatolia. It only led to a break with England and failed to win Turkey.

In Russia, too, this general-staff policy followed by France has led from one failure to another. Even while she was supporting the Czarist generals, an embryonic alliance between the Russian monarchy for which she longed and the German monarchists was taking shape. Her support of the Ukraine threw her Czarist proteges into the arms of the German reaction. These very Petlurans after all their secret treaties with France are in intimate relations with an Austrian archduke and intrigue for a reconstituted Central Europe. Today France bases her last hopes for a Russian counter-revolution upon the Social Revolutionaries. Always ill served by her spies and informers, the French Government has magnified a few bands of rural brigands into a great peasant movement against the soviet regime. What new shadow the French Government will chase only the future can tell. It seems that she is seeking to profit by the counter-revolutionary pan-Asiaticism of Japan. Struggling against history and against the motive forces of our period, French policy only leads to new deceptions and new impasses.

Italy's policy has been one of shifting sands, of great promises unrealized, of warm declarations soon forgotten. With what enthusiasm and ardor General Romei assured me in 1918 of Italy's affection, yet Italian troops were soon drowning the peasant movements of Mariinsk in blood. Italy was the first of the Western Powers to demand the lifting of the blockade. The deputies and even the Government when Nitti was its chief expressed the best intentions, with the single reservation that Italy could not cut herself off from the Entente. But the same Italian Government was shipping aeroplanes to help Poland fight us. Last year we sent a first shipment of grain from Ukrainian ports to Italy. The Italian counter-revolutionary press charged that the grain was spoiled, but expert examination proved the contrary. Toward the end of last year the Government's attitude became more hostile to us. After the sudden development of the factory occupation movement there was a marked change. Several of our nominees for Russian ambassador at Rome were declared undesirable, the personnel of our mission was limited, and when Vorovski arrived in Rome he was refused the most elementary rights of diplomatic immunity, *Fascisti* scandals were built up about him, and his notes were left unanswered. It was only after he demanded his passports to return that he was granted diplomatic immunity and that the business of negotiating a trade treaty could proceed. But the interests uniting Italy and Russia are too real not to assure a successful conclusion.

The coolness which each revolutionary wave has caused in diplomatic circles has nowhere been so marked as in the United States. The great strikes of 1919 were the turning-point in the policy of President Wilson. He had been the most peacefully inclined of the interventionists; instead came implacable hostility, overwhelming hate, expressed in the grossest and most brutal official documents. The new President is still trying out his path. The French Government, our great enemy, sent one of its great artists in honeyed words, the ex-Socialist Viviani, to Washington, and his visit was immediately followed by a declaration that the restoration of private property was the indispensable condition for the resumption of commercial relations. In this statement as in others much is made of the supposed economic vacuum in Russia. If that really be their fundamental argument, let them open their eyes to our commerce with England and Italy and learn what is going on in the world.

The Japanese military caste, which was first to intervene in Eastern Siberia in 1918, refuses to let go. Wherever counter-revolutionary groups fight the soviet system in Asia, we discover the influence of Japan. The great chain of counter-revolution which starts at Tokio has as its links the Japanese occupation of Vladivostok and of the Ussuri Valley, the intimate alliance of the Japanese with the remnants of the counter-revolutionary bands on the Chinese border, and with Baron Ungern's bands in Mongolia. One might expect Japanese policy in Asia to be less aggressive at a time when American policy toward Japan was taking more energetic shape. On the contrary, the Far Eastern Republic and that portion of Western Siberia which is an integral part of Soviet Russia have to defend themselves against simultaneous aggression via the Ussuri Valley and from Mongolia—the only point on the soviet border where the menace of a great conflict persists.

Germany, victim of the five great Powers, is not yet able to strike out an active policy of her own. Her present policy is passive; it consists in disarming the victors by humility, or in seeking support in British self-interest. But commerce with Germany is a necessity for her as for us, and the trade agreement already reached will doubtless grow to larger economic dimensions.

When M. Clemenceau, in December, 1919, announced a new crusade against the soviet republics, in which Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Rumania were to participate, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, M. Benes, immediately protested. In the spring of 1920, in suggesting a resumption of relations, he assigned to his country the mission of serving as a bridge between the East and West of Europe. Since the Socialists left the ministry, the Government has been somewhat cooler to us, but the bases of a commercial treaty have been agreed upon and a Russian trade mission will soon reach Prague.

Esthonia has had no reason to regret that she was first to make peace with Soviet Russia. The intense activity of the port of Reval and the uninterrupted traffic upon her railways are a consequence of that peace. Similar relations of economic reciprocity are developing between Soviet Russia and Latvia. The states which were to serve as barbed-wire barriers about Russia have become bridges connecting us with the world market. Lithuania, too, a little country of peasants who have fought for centuries against their Polish landlords, has had only reason to rejoice over her peace and friendship with Russia. And we believe that the decision we made at Riga not to refuse territorial aggrandizement in the East to Poland has already borne fruit in the growing influence of the more pacifically minded upon Polish policy. Certain White Guard groups, such as the

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Petlurans, still hold the sympathy of militarist circles in Poland, but we believe that the Peace of Riga will endure.

The Peace of Yuriev opened a new page in the story of our relations with Finland, and we are struggling to translate that peace into reality. Nowhere has the bogy of communism assumed more extravagant forms than in Finland, and certain groups still raise obstacles to every step. The Finnish Government assumes the right to censor the books which we send to our representative at Helsingfors, and there has been a long succession of petty diplomatic incidents. Finns have sent arms and money to stir up trouble in the province of Karelia, and the Karelian regime has given rise to another long series of notes. But Finland has goods which would find their natural market in Russia, and since the reactionary Erlich Ministry has been succeeded by the Progressive Vennola the tension has been disappearing.

The northern "neutrals" have been slow to follow their own interest. With Holland we have not even had discussions, and conversations with Denmark have barely begun. Norway still insists upon inserting humiliating conditions in the proposed trade treaty, and Sweden still assumes a distant and suspicious attitude toward our representative who has for some time been at Stockholm. But time will cure all that.

Victims as they are of international high finance, the Oriental countries are our natural friends. The treaties which we have concluded with the three Moslem border states, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and with the two Moslem soviet republics, Bokhara and Khiva, have given definite official form to the natural friendship which was a spontaneous product of historical reality. The radical change in Russian policy has been clearly understood throughout Asia and the new republic has been hailed as a symbol of release from the old oppression. We know that the Eastern nations are not communist and cannot soon become such. Any attempt to hasten the march of events or to impose upon these people a social regime belonging to another stage of development would only disturb our friendship with them. But we know that, for instance in the struggle of the Turkish people to defend their soil, it is the artisan, the small merchant, and the small farmer who, arms in hand, repulse the invader and who are the motive force of the national movement represented in the Great National Assembly at Angora. There are survivals of the old master regime, but it is a new Turkey. Our task has been the difficult one of fixing the northeast frontier to be recognized in the treaties to be made between the Caucasian republics and Turkey. The secular heritage of centuries of bloody struggle and the violent habits of the Near East increased the difficulties and importance of the Treaty of Moscow[1] which was finally reached by mutual concession. To us the recognition of the right of the Turkish people to independence was axiomatic, as is its right to direct its own destinies, but we hope that it will soon see its own interest better and end the occasional persecutions of Communists in Turkey, and apply the principle of self-determination which it demands for itself to the national minorities within its borders.

Our treaty with Persia destroys the entire imperialist legacy of the old Czarist policy in Persia. Even the foreign press has emphasized the utterly unprecedented character of this treaty, by which we turned over to the Persian people everything which the Russian Government had possessed or had appropriated in Persia. It is the expression in practice of the principle of the liberation of peoples from foreign yoke. Our policy in Persia is one of complete non-intervention. The struggle begun in northern Persia by the soviet government which established itself at Enzeli and at Recht was an internal question. That government no longer exists; it lacked force to extend its authority beyond the Caspian coast, and its history showed that Persia was not ripe for such a development. Similarly we practice non-intervention in Afghanistan, though we are ready to help that country as best we can in its task of internal reorganization. It is passing through a stage similar to that of the enlightened despotisms of the eighteenth century; it was the young Emir whose accession to the throne put an end to dependence on foreign Powers and who has initiated the great changes in the life of the people. We insisted that the independence of Afghanistan be expressly recognized in our treaty with England.

Immense China, struggling chaotically to emerge from the past, will be the great force of the new Asia. The friendship of an emancipated China is one of the principal aims of our Asiatic policy. So too with the young democracy of Mongolia, our friend and natural ally. The Government of China is not yet free and it is not of its own free will that it opposes certain obstacles to the resumption of diplomatic relations, such as reparation for all Chinese injuriously affected by revolutionary legislation.

Fear of military aggression on our part is founded upon lies. Our treaty with England is characteristic of the coming period of our foreign policy. However strong may be the groups hostile to us in the Western governments, the economic forces driving toward cooperation are too powerful. The revolutionary Russia of the workers and peasants is a settled state formed upon a new principle, and it intends to consolidate its internal regime despite its capitalist environment. To develop our foreign relations, to unmask the intrigues directed against us, these are the tasks of our young proletarian diplomacy.

[1] Printed in this week's International Relations Section of *The Nation*.

Poe's Gravestone

By GEORGE STERLING

"Old friends and the school-children of Richmond . . . asked those great men of Boston who had been Poe's contemporaries . . . to join in commemorating his memory. These invitations were either ignored or they were not accepted . . . Lowell . . . Bryant . . . Whittier . . . Longfellow."

The very tomb shall cover not the shame
Of those that would have bound thy wings of light!
Toiling for Beauty in the quiet night,
Little to thee were primacy or name;
But now thy star is found a holy flame
In heavens unpermitted to their flight—
Unseen by those who have not in their sight
The slowly guttering candles of their fame.
Puritanism's grey and icy ooze
Was rheum in those inexorable eyes
That would not see wherein thy greatness stood.
The meager honor that they dared refuse
Was earth's, O thou that followed to the skies
Beauty, whose final goal is human good.

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100 Per Cent Patriotism *vs.* 70 Per Cent Thrift

By CHARLES P. SWEENEY

WHEN the war ended employers in the United States experienced a strange emotion. They feared that bolshevism and socialism and just plain old industrial unrest were going to grab their factories and send them to finding their living digging clams along the Connecticut coast. So they seized upon one or several of the many cure-alls proffered by gentlemen who knew how to make the most of another's fear. One was the shop union. Another was the bonus system. Still another was the gratuity for longevity of service. And, again, a fake "industrial democracy" was sold to many employers childish enough to think it was going to save them from the eclipse. There were all manner of things, from Christmas turkeys to a share in the profits. Whether they were needed or not is a question, and whether they served any good purpose or not is another, but——

The most adroit and subtle of all of these ideas for industrial stability in the United States while the rest of the world was in convulsion was the Thrift System. There was something fundamental in its appeal. If, it was argued, the workers could be induced to agree to a weekly deduction from their pay envelope on a contract that called for a year or two years of such deductions and terminated by making them one hundred, two hundred, or five hundred dollars richer, they would be loath to join the unruly mob of trade unionists who are always threatening to tie up the plant and impoverish the stockholders. They would learn the lesson of the acquisition of wealth, they would have a stake with their employer in the safety of the economic *status quo*, they would, in truth, be "little capitalists."

And this argument took well with many employers. They saw the labor turnover reduced to the lowest minimum; they saw a happy group of workers piling up wealth at $1 or $2 a week; they saw old John Jones and young Bill Smith scorning the efforts of union agents to enlist them in one of Sammy Gompers's A. F. of L. organizations, to say nothing of more sinister groups; and when the thing was put up to them concretely by the National Thrift Bond Corporation, with a board of directors that looked like a Wall Street bond club roster, they did not hesitate to say to their workers: "Join one of these Get-Ahead Clubs. We stand back of the thrift bonds, because they are secured by government securities, and because this corporation is made up of the biggest men in the United States. Any of you men who want to save your money in a way that you can be sure is absolutely safe may do so by signing one of these National Thrift Bond Association Contracts, and the money you want to save will be taken from your pay envelopes each week; you will get an engraved receipt for it, and when you have paid the amount of the contract, $50, $100, or $250, you will get a Thrift Bond that will be worth all you have saved."

Don't blame the employer. How could he help but have faith when the Thrift Bond Corporation's literature was signed by such captains of industry, such practical men as William Fellowes Morgan, president of the New York Merchants' Association; Clarence H. Kelsey, president of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company; Adolph Lewisohn, the banker; Jesse I. Straus, of Macy & Company; Lindley M. Garrison, the well-known Wall Street lawyer and former Secretary of War; Henry Rogers Winthrop, of the Wall Street firm of Harris, Winthrop & Company; Henry Bruère, vice-president of the American Metal Company; James J. Turner, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; and others of like standing in our national affairs?

Was it not perfectly natural that the employer should feel safe in telling his workers that these men would never support a project that might result in a loss to the buyers of their securities and a consequent loss to their individual reputations for sound judgment and high integrity? And so The National Thrift Bond Corporation agents were ushered into more than one hundred of the great industrial establishments of the East and introduced to the working force as the Thrift Bond Men, and a total of eleven thousand workingmen and women agreed to have $1 or $2 or $5 deducted weekly from their envelopes, believing all the time that they were saving, not investing, these amounts. And a total of $678,000 was thus "saved."

The other side of the picture. Wall Street is not interested in saving as a matter of social betterment. Wall Street is interested in making money for Wall Street. And Wall Street was behind the National Thrift Bond Corporation. For, in addition to the names of the trustees and directors aforementioned, the capital stock of the concern was subscribed by such men as Otto H. Kahn, Paul M. Warburg, Robert W. DeForest, and James Imbrie. As a matter of fact, these four sank virtually a million dollars in the organization and promotion of the corporation. Why? Several, perhaps, because they believed that the Thrift System was going to save the country from the menace of industrial unrest. But not all, not all. For, in Wall Street, almost anyone will tell you what a wealth of gold was to be garnered by Ingalls Kimball's great idea for selling securities.

Ingalls Kimball was the originator and promoter of the Thrift System. Mr. Kimball will frankly tell you he intended that it should make a lot of money for its promoter and those who financed him. But Mr. Kimball is the kind of a man who can also convince an employer that he has the solvent for unrest, the panacea for the strike fever and socialism. Anyhow, this is how the Thrift System worked:

The National Thrift Bond Corporation would buy a lot of Newark 4½ per cent school bonds of a par value of $10,000, maturing in twenty years. They paid the market price, generally 80 per cent, or $8,000. These were deposited in the Equitable Trust Company under a trust agreement between the Corporation and the Trust Company, there to remain drawing interest until maturity. Against these securities the Thrift Corporation would issue Thrift Bonds to the full par value of the Newark bonds, plus Thrift Bonds to the value of the accrued interest to maturity. Thrift Bonds pay 3 per cent interest. The Thrift Bonds, however, were sold to the industrial workers on instalments covering a year, so that if one was to buy a $100 Thrift Bond, which was really a participation certificate in one of the Newark Bonds, he would pay two dollars a week for fifty weeks before he got the bond. On this

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money, for the fifty weeks, however, he drew no interest. But the Thrift Bond Corporation did, and moreover, it aimed to continue to draw interest at compound rates for twenty years, so that it stood to make considerable on interest rates. But its immediate and principal profit lay in the business of buying securities at the market price and selling them to the thrifty "little capitalists" in American industrial plants at par, plus matured interest; in other words, selling today securities that would not for twenty years be worth the price for which they were being sold. Quite a business! No wonder Mr. Ingalls Kimball was able to attract big capital, no wonder Wall Street was envious of those in on the ground floor. This was to be an endless chain cash-producer. As rapidly as money came in from the students of thrift it was to be, and until a certain date, was, used to purchase more city, state, or federal securities at 80 or 85, against which immediately were issued more Thrift Bonds at the ratio described above. And so it was to go on until all of the wage-earning millions of this country were hardy bondholders, shunning the agents of radicalism and unrest, joining the Chambers of Commerce or the Manufacturers' Associations on all issues affecting the safety of the country.

But all things have a rainy day. And so did the National Thrift Bond Corporation. It was badly organized. The overhead was too great. And then it had lost a lot of money advertising the Thrift System by selling Liberty Bonds by the instalment route in order to get acquainted with the industrial field. By July of this year a million dollars in all, representing $300,000 capital stock and nearly $700,000 advanced by James Imbrie, of Imbrie & Company, now in the hands of a receiver, had been spent, with only the return of $678,000 received for Thrift Bonds. No doubt a lot of Wall Street folks, knowing a good idea when they see it, would have refinanced and reorganized the corporation. But times were, or are, bad. The prospects of normal times are not to be found today because industrial plants are running at their lowest ebb and with the smallest number of workers possible. Hundreds of thousands, yes millions, of men are walking the streets in idleness. How can they save when they have nothing?

After losing a million, the directors of the National Thrift Bond Corporation met in special session on July 28 and passed a resolution ceasing operation of the business and requesting the Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York to take it over for liquidation. This has been done. But——

The absolutely gilt-edged bonds of the National Thrift Corporation turn out to be white elephants on the hands of the eleven thousand thrift working people. They are, in plain old everyday American business language, stung. For, they discover, not only can they not realize 100 cents for each dollar they "saved" in National Thrift Bonds or Thrift Receipts, but they are not even sure where they can get anything for the beautifully engraved paper their hard-earned dollars purchased. It is true beyond question that by waiting for the bonds to mature, which will be between 1943 and 1954, they will get their money. But at present their bonds are worth approximately 70 cents on the dollar, and may fall considerably below that figure before the liquidation has been completed.

The directors of the National Thrift Bond Corporation, one would think, would stand up and make good the loss of the wage-earners. Not so. For the contracts and bonds, whether they were thoroughly understood by the thrifty wage-earners or not, specifically state that they will be redeemed on the date of their maturity. Why should there be a loss to the wage-earners if the Thrift Bonds are secured by city, state, and federal securities in the trust fund in the Equitable Trust Company? Simply because the present market price for these securities is only $499,000, while the Thrift Bonds issued against them amount to $678,000. Why is this? Because the Thrift Bonds were issued against the securities up to the full par value of the securities plus interest to maturity. The moral of this story is that the gentlemen who promoted this scheme did so on the ground that it would, in their own words, "tend to decrease industrial unrest and stimulate production." It was declared to employers that this National Thrift System provided "a means of enabling employees in industrial plants to become 'little capitalists.'"

But, to one aware of the state of mind of 1,000 motormen and conductors of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, or 600 drivers and conductors of Fifth Avenue buses, or of several thousand workers in the woolen mills of Providence, when they learned that they were to lose 30 per cent of their "savings" because these fine men with big names had shut down the National Thrift Bond Corporation, it is evident that this is the surest way one could imagine of encouraging bolshevism.

And yet $200,000 tossed in by a group of men who would scarcely miss it might have saved the idea of thrift, a good idea, for these eleven thousand workers. Then, if the directors had wanted to discontinue the National Thrift Bond Corporation, they could have done so with no regrets on their own part or on the part of the eleven thousand wage-earners who believed what they were told largely because it was told by such distinguished, such patriotic, such 100 per cent Americans, and such practical men of affairs.

The House to the Incoming Tenants

By EDWARD SAPIR

Think not, when you have shined my windows over
And set the smoke flag waving from the roof,
When my remotest corner's spider-proof,
The maiden's room is scented rose and clover,
That I am slave. I swear that I shall mock
Your tones and semitones, and steal into
My walls the secret of each soul of you,
Holding your spirits fossil in the rock.

Ten years I wait, the guest will ring the bell,
We listen to your answer: "It is well";
You will not hear while I am whispering all
Into his ear whose eye is on the wall.
You do not guess betraying is my art,
Nor how I shall be laughing in my heart.

In the next issue (International Relations Section): The Constitution of the Far Eastern Republic. An extraordinary document.

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The Musician: Artist and Laborer

By ALLAN LINCOLN LANGLEY

AT the present time there exists in New York a lockout of union musicians in all motion-picture and vaudeville houses controlled by the Managers' Association. The theaters included comprise the Loew, Proctor, Moss, Fox, and Keith circuits, and the Rialto, Rivoli, Capitol, Criterion, and Strand theaters.

The curious dual position of the musician as both artist and labor unionist has seldom been made sufficiently clear to the public. To summarize at the outset, therefore, it need only be said that whereas it is necessary for a musician, in order to fit himself for his career, to spend from five to ten years in study at his own expense, he finds himself, when finally ready to practice his calling, in the same category as any laborer, and is compelled through organization to try to assure himself of a living wage. This in spite of the fact that his life-work constitutes a luxury for the public. It can scarcely be denied that any individual devoting as much of his life as the musician to preparation for a profession, or for participation in some branch of business that supplies a legitimate demand, receives a much higher compensation for services rendered once his career is actively begun. Yet the musician, when forced to fight for himself by what means he may, receives usually nothing but unmitigated condemnation, in which the too-indifferent public, especially theater- and concert-goers, silently acquiesces.

The facts in the present case are as follows: For about ten months there has existed factional trouble between the Musical Mutual Protective Union of New York and its parent body, the American Federation of Musicians, in consequence whereof the local has been recently suspended from the Federation. The Managers' Association, characteristically quick to take advantage of this split, summarily abrogated its contracts with the M. M. P. U. by giving to all its employed musicians two weeks' notice of a 20 per cent reduction in wages. The existing wages, which were only last year raised to an amount approaching fair compensation, are apportioned as follows:

In the Strand, Rialto, Capitol, Rivoli, and Criterion theaters, $70 weekly; in the other vaudeville and motion-picture houses above listed from $56 down to $49 weekly. It may thus be seen that with a 20 per cent reduction in force the majority of the musicians would receive from $47 to $40 weekly. For this beggarly amount they would give services of from six to six and one-half hours daily, Sundays included, plus one or two rehearsals. Needless to say, the playing is continuous and extremely exhausting, and in addition the routine in these theaters requires a considerable amount of skill and endurance. In the five major motion-picture houses above named, the musicians must be capable of achieving the standards of symphonic performances.

The sentiment of the musicians involved being overwhelmingly against the reduction, at the end of the managers' two weeks' notice all orchestras in the houses affected walked out unanimously, their leaders in most cases also withdrawing their services. But it is important that the public realize that the situation constitutes a lockout, and not, as has been stated in the press, a strike. It is true that among new matters to be discussed with the managers by the M. M. P. U. committee on price-fixing for the coming season (dating from September 1), a proviso for one day's vacation per week was included; but the managers, scenting an easy triumph over the M. M. P. U. (deprived by virtue of its suspension from the Federation of the support of the latter), refused even to recognize the 1921 price-fixing committee. This attitude would have been impossible but for the aforementioned schism between the M. M. P. U. and the Federation.

By way of a public demonstration, the M. M. P. U. has formed an orchestra of 300 men from the five leading moving-picture houses, augmented by some of the best artists of New York, who are members of the symphony orchestras and the Metropolitan Opera orchestra, which has engaged the Lexington Opera House for a period of weeks and will give concerts every night of symphonic music at popular prices, the proceeds to be devoted to the relief of the locked-out musicians and their families. Arnold Volpe was the first conductor, Modest Altschuler guest conductor for three days beginning Monday, August 29. From the performances of this novel organization, the public will be able to prove conclusively that the musicians of New York are more than capable of demonstrating their artistic ideals and ability.

By this enterprise, for which they are receiving as yet no stated compensation, the musicians are refuting unquestionably all the aspersions and objurgations concerning their supposed avarice and indifference to musical ideals that their detractors have heaped upon them whenever it has been expedient to create false impressions for purposes of attempted subjugation; and if the public has any feelings of gratitude and sympathy for the hundreds of musicians who, not only in motion-picture houses but also in the symphonies, have given it hours of vital entertainment, it should support this enterprise with enthusiasm and fervor. It should be borne in mind that if the theater musicians are defeated, those in so-called "higher" classifications will find that their turn comes next.

The first of these concerts, Sunday evening, August 21, proved a stupendous success. The Lexington Opera House was practically sold out and uproarious enthusiasm greeted this first notable enterprise of the musicians in their own behalf. Since August 25 the orchestra has been playing nightly to crowded houses. It might be added that considerable sympathy has already been aroused for their cause, as is evidenced by the proffered services of Mr. Volpe and Mr. Altschuler, and by the offer, free of charge, of the Mapleson Orchestral Library for their use. Mr. Volpe, the Tams Library, Mr. Altschuler, and others have also assisted in supplying music. Fritz Kreisler has been communicated with, and negotiations are now pending with a view to securing his cooperation either as soloist or conductor. In addition Spencer B. Driggs, president of the Musical Advance [an agency], has asked for the terms of the orchestra for a week's concerts in the city of Mexico, as a part of a great musical festival shortly to take place there.

If the musicians win, as they are bound to if they stand firm and continue to receive public sympathy and support, their concert experiment will probably end with their return to their jobs. The precedent created, however, of a cooperative group of skilled musicians offering varied programs at low cost—for the promoter's profits are eliminated—is too important not to bear fruit in the future quite apart from the exigencies out of which the idea was born.

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The Antioch Idea

BY DICKINSON S. MILLER

WE shall now have to recognize a new profession, that of the educational engineer. Engineering is above all a nakedly means-to-ends occupation. The distinguished civil engineer Mr. Arthur E. Morgan having been elected a trustee of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O., has become its president and his accession is marked by a remarkable reorganization of the college's educational plan. What is new is that this reorganization is governed from top to bottom by a clear formulation of the purpose of college education and a single-minded, undistracted quest for the means to accomplish it. For anyone who is familiar with the spell of custom, precedent, and least resistance in the college world, enough has been said to indicate the interest of the undertaking. Has there been any other instance in American college history where the instruction has been reshaped or created in the light, not of this or that limited and plausible proposal, but of a comprehensive, ordered, and complete conception of what higher education can and should effect? We have had special proposals relating to some phase of the college, such as the elective plan or the new departmental examinations at Harvard. Have we had anyone taking up the entire system and rethinking it on a single, simple, and practical basis? The nearest approach hitherto perhaps has been the admirable program of the President of Amherst.

Youths are living beings and require the interesting objects and activities of life. What shall we think, if once we detach our minds from custom and look at things calmly as they are, of a college system which takes youths out of life and sets them down with books and lectures? We shall surely think that those youths will have their revenge. And they have it. The college having taken them to board and live, but not having provided a life for them, they have created for themselves a life; a life of more normal activities for the natural human being, such as sports, intercollegiate contests, club life, theatricals, college journalism, traveling glee club, etc. Such being the chief actual life available at the college the result has inevitably been, in Mr. Wilson's words, uttered in his Princeton days, that "the side-shows have swallowed up the circus," at least so far as the undergraduates' interest is concerned.

Mr. Morgan's plan, if I have understood it, is simply to restore things to their natural basis; to make the curriculum a real (but also a productive) life instead of an artificial withdrawal from life; to see to it that the normal arts or occupations of life can be pursued upon the college campus; that the students can learn these arts by going at them directly and practicing them; that furthermore the normal living of the student at the college shall bring him to need, desire, and pursue such valuable culture as is not immediately included in the occupation he adopts. The education will be thus both vocational and "liberal."

The course is to open upon the new principles in September. It is planned to construct a factory building on the college campus as fast as arrangements can be matured, in which will be located a number of small industries where the students will be engaged in the various phases of industry. Arrangements have already been made with other and neighboring industries for the employment of students. The new Antioch program provides that "the professional or technical student may spend half his time at academic work and half in practical work; the latter as nearly as possible along the lines of his proposed calling. To this end the student will alternate five weeks at school with five weeks at work." The entire course will occupy six years, including thus three years of academic work. It is the aim of the college to make a specialty of preparing men for supreme administrative positions; in other words, for proprietorship or "general management." To this end the effort will be to develop in each student "initiative, self-reliance, sound judgment, and the ability to carry ultimate responsibility in his calling." This program, the college announces, demands for its success a very careful selection among the students offering.

It remains to be seen how this bold and original program will be carried out. It is interesting to students of education to note that we have here the first deliberate attempt to carry over into the college the ideas applied in the few modern elementary schools conducted by "the natural method." In one of the chief of these, the Moraine Park School of Dayton, Ohio, Mr. Morgan has himself been interested. The natural method is of course the method of profiting by the natural wishes of the pupils as awakened in an environment and in circumstances carefully devised for the purpose. The children seek and enjoy certain activities because it is their instinct to do so, and they are led, not forced, to them. These occupations gradually call for the forms of information and skill that make up what we call education and the children take the trouble to acquire them because they want them. In this way they are found to carry on voluntarily not a little drudgery. At Antioch College the place of the children's activity (we hardly know whether to call it game or work) is to be taken by the chosen lifework of the undergraduate, and the object is to lead him by the inevitable calls of the vocation he has chosen and of the life of the college to the general culture requisite for life and citizenship.

As it stands, however, there appears still, from an educational point of view, a gulf fixed between the five weeks of "work" and the five weeks of "school." They are brought near in time and place, but it is not as yet clear just how they will be brought near in principle. So far as the announcement goes, the instruction in literature, in history, or in psychology might proceed very much as it does now in the principal colleges. What we have yet to hear is the method (a very difficult affair) by which within the area of the familiar college studies the teaching will be adjusted to the principle that education is a life and a development, an interaction of environment and desire, not a listening and remembering, a stamping and hammering process. Mr. Morgan's is a valiant enterprise, profoundly needed, to remold the college on the basis of human nature as it is. That the major courses of academic study, such as those named, shall be gradually transformed into activities, or connected with activities, in which the pursuit of a desired goal leads the student to supply himself with information because he himself wants it: this is the triumph in college education to which the Antioch idea seems to point. It would be absurd to ask a completely detailed process when the new curriculum has not even begun, when the faculty has not been completely recruited, and when the vigorous and luminous aims of the experienced men in command must wait to be realized in a concrete situation. All that can as yet be said is that this is apparently the most significant move in the college world within living memory.

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The Horror on the Rhine Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On my return from Europe I find waiting me a pile of letters protesting against my article, Those Black Troops on the Rhine—and the White, which you published in your issue of May 25. That article, you may recall, began thus:

> There are still black troops on the Rhine. Coal-black, and thousands of them—at Speyer, at Kaiserslautern, at Ludwigshafen, and in other cities. Official denials are either cunningly deceptive statements of fact, ignorant misstatements, or deliberate lies. And on the whole, the Negro troops are behaving exceedingly well, and the population has little to complain of their presence. The circumstances of their presence have been outrageously exaggerated.

The article summed up thus the results of an investigation made on the spot, cited some of the outrages committed by the white French troops, and concluded that, as regards the black troops, the real French crime was rather against these poor men kept so far from home than against the Germans who suffer their presence. And for this an Omaha subscriber asks how much *The Nation* is paid from French propaganda funds, a Los Angeles reader expresses "disgust and surprise," a Chehalis, Washington, writer speaks of "bias and prejudice" and "insidious propaganda," and a New York doctor actually cancels his subscription because of an article which he apparently had not read, for he calls it "Gannett's article denying the presence of black troops in Germany"! Correspondents in Germany are gentler than these German-Americans: from Regensburg comes a letter recognizing my "objectivity" but saying that I have just that defect which is usually charged against Germans, inability to understand the psychology of other peoples, and Reichskommissar Dr. Kleibömer writes from Frankfurt inclosing a photograph of an American Jim Crow car and suggesting that it shows the same feeling toward Negroes in America which is felt in Germany. A gentleman in Brooklyn sends a communication which goes so to the heart of the matter that I want to quote it at some length:

> As to the black horror on the Rhine: Just a few samples taken at random from official reports:
>
> "April 23, 1921, 8:45 p.m., the salesgirl Bertha K., on her way home from Mayence to Kastel (a suburb) was attacked by three drunken white French soldiers of the 243d artillery. They hit her with blunt instruments until she was covered with blood and collapsed. Three young men who came to the assistance of the girl were also maltreated. The perpetrators of this crime were let off with 15 to 20 days in jail.
>
> "May 3, between 9 and 9:15 p.m., the laborer Theodor Koehler on his way home on Gaustrasse, Mayence, was attacked by three white French soldiers, one white French marine, and two Moroccans, knocked senseless, and left on the pavement. The French sentinel standing a few paces distant refused to interfere.
>
> "May 5, 5:30 p.m., the servant-girl Magdalene Z., of the town of Diez, while on her way to the little mill near Oranienburg, was attacked by a Moroccan sergeant. The girl struggled with the man, but the latter tore her clothing to shreds and raped the young woman.
>
> "May 9, 9 p.m., while Josephine F. of Biebrich was walking in company of her fiancé near the railroad station, they were held up by a Moroccan sergeant on the pretext that their passports were not in order. The man was driven off, and the Moroccan raped the young woman. An official examination by the police surgeon in presence of a French army doctor corroborated the story.
>
> "June 3, 8 p.m., the daughter of a Sinzig jeweler, on her way home from shopping, was attacked by a colored French soldier. When the girl tried to defend herself the Moroccan wounded her several times with a knife, and then raped her. . . ."
>
> All these crimes have been committed within a few days of each other, and all in the same small district. . . . What reason *The Nation* has to "play possum" in regard to this blackest crime of the age is a miracle to many of its readers. That "something" must be "going on" behind the screens in the editorial department of *The Nation* we all feel certain. . . .

These instances are apparently taken from the police reports of such cases which I saw at Heidelberg and which, as I said in that much-maligned article, I believe to be absolutely authentic. I also remarked that the correspondent of the New York *World* who investigated conditions on the Rhine said in his article which the *World* suppressed that he, too, trusted these reports. They are cold, unemotional recitals of fact. Women do not lightly report such experiences even at a time when, as today, the victim becomes to an unusual degree a martyr. Certainly there are even more cases which go unreported. Such things are happening on the Rhine, and they are horrible. But let those who do not understand the attitude of *The Nation* reread the five stories quoted by its critical correspondent with care: *Not one of them refers to a crime committed by a Negro!* The five stories tell of twelve soldier brutes; seven of these were French Whites, five were Moroccans (largely Arab stock), and not one a Negro. There are Negroes, coal-black Negroes, on the Rhine, as I said; but it is my conviction that they behave, on the whole, better than the French Whites, and far better than the Moroccan Whites. The black race is enough maligned and abused without adding the dirty scores of the white race to its count. The Brooklyn correspondent who begins his letter, "As to the *black* horror on the Rhine," and then cites the crimes of Whites (Moroccans, though some of them contain a percentage of Negroid blood, and though they may be called "colored," are most decidedly not black) himself discloses what goes on behind the editorial screens of *The Nation*. *The Nation* has always denounced the prolonged military occupation of the Rhineland, but it will not, in so doing, exploit an American color prejudice which it despises. I am well aware that the very presence of black troops, however well they may behave, is a constant distress to thousands of Germans. Perhaps I fail to understand their psychology, but I think it is very like that of the race-conscious Whites of this country; and I cannot, as my colleagues of *The Nation* cannot, wax indignant because of the suffering imposed by a race prejudice which we do not feel and which we believe unwarranted. So I must part company with friends who exploit that race prejudice in their protest against a real but different abuse.

Finally, I can only reiterate what I said in my article. I cited there what I found to be genuine abuses. But, honestly attempting to discover facts, I could not avoid the conclusion that much of the literature current in this country about the horror on the Rhine is grossly exaggerated. That, I suppose, is inevitable. Certainly it was so about the Belgian stories. When your Regensburg correspondent writes that "parents do not dare let their children go to school unaccompanied in broad daylight, women fear to go alone even on lighted streets at night, an excursion into the country even for a man is an adventure," I can only say that for the regions under French occupation which I visited that would give an exaggerated impression. I talked in full, frank confidence with people of all stations in life who relieved their hearts of accumulated complaints, but I found that Germans across the Rhine believed conditions to be worse than Germans in the Rhineland claimed them to be, just as German-Americans in this country believe them to be worse still. God knows there is horror enough in sober fact. It is very near to humanly impossible to deposit tens of thousands of celibate males with almost nothing to do, among a people to whom they are hostile by tradition and whose language and customs they do not understand, without hundreds of cases of the lowest crime resulting. The growth of venereal disease in the Rhineland, due largely to the white soldiers there, is appalling. I wish our German-American friends would make a frontal attack upon the very principle of military occupation and leave the Negro race apart. Then I could join with them, and I think my article which they so protest would furnish them some useful ammunition. There is a black horror on the Rhine, but it is not a Negro horror. Let us keep that clear.

New York, August 20 LEWIS S. GANNETT

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter has heard with regret of the sale of the *Army and Navy Journal* by Willard Church. *The Nation* and the *Army and Navy Journal* have long been neighbors under the same roof at 20 Vesey Street; and, too, there is something moving in the sale of a newspaper property out of the family which founded it and had conducted it for a long term of years. Col. W. C. Church, Mr. Church's father, established the paper in 1863, and father and son have conducted it ever since, far more concerned with recording the news of the army and navy than with propagandizing on behalf of any military policy. The Drifter has always thought that it represented well the spirit of some of our greatest soldiers—not militarists—like General Sherman, whose friendship the Drifter had, albeit as a small boy. Now the *Army and Navy Journal* goes to Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, a gallant soldier and the son of another gallant soldier who fell on the walls of Peking in 1900. Under his management there will be a more militant policy, which the Drifter's friends, the editors of *The Nation*, will doubtless combat with all the pleasure that comes from matching swords with a courteous and sincere opponent.

* * * * *

THE Drifter drifted aimlessly through the streets of the metropolis last night, meeting Barney, and also Mr. Moskovsky. Barney is Mrs. Vanderbilt's night watchman on Sutton Place, and Mr. Moskovsky plays the zimbaloon on Grand Street. Before he met either of them the Drifter had drifted into the Redwings Yacht Club on the East River at Fifty-first Street, where he saw posted a notice of a "Pig and Duck Contest, with Prizes; Tickets $1.00 including refreshments, ladies fifty cents; Music by the Pink Rose Syncopators"—a sign which he attempted unobtrusively to copy. Being caught in the act of taking notes, the Drifter was suspected of being a prohibition enforcement agent, which led him to beat a hasty retreat toward Sutton Place, where, as he said, he met Barney.

* * * * *

BARNEY invited the Drifter to inspect Mrs. Vanderbilt's new house and grounds. He pointed out the top floor: "That's fer the slaves; *you* know, the talent o' the house, th' servants." He exhibited Mrs. Vanderbilt's sleeping-room, and what he called the "gossip room" above. He explained his dislike of the interior decoration—"all ovals and such, art stuff; *you* know, too much God-damned gingerbread." He expressed disapproval of the gas heating system on the ground that gas mains were more likely to burst than Mrs. Vanderbilt to run short of coal. He displayed to the Drifter the thick porcelain bathtub to be installed in Mrs. Vanderbilt's bathroom, and the tin bathtubs for the slaves. "Don't ye kid yerself," he told the Drifter. "Maybe jus' lookin' at 'em, ye'd choose that there porcelain tub. Jus' take a tip from Barney: you pick the tin one. It may not be so much on looks, but ye c'n heat it full of water twice as quick as ye can that porcelain tub; if ye try to heat water in that thing, yer old woman'll be askin' ye what the hell ye're usin' so much coal fer." The Drifter agreed with Barney, and Barney continued, through a long series of stories which the Drifter wishes he dared repeat, to the subject of the New York police. Now, as the Drifter is negotiating with the New York police about a small matter of vast concern to himself, he will not publish Barney's views and allegations on that subject. Suffice it to record that Barney's gesture, as he spat and remarked with impressive calm, "They're beneath notice," was worthy of Mr. Dudley Digges's own Sparrow. In fact Barney's spitting was one of his characteristics which most excited the Drifter's admiration. Some people gesture to give emphasis to their words; Barney spits.

* * * * *

THE Second Avenue car took the Drifter down to the region where New York ceases utterly to be America and becomes something richer and warmer, more human and more colorful, where women with old-world faces croon old-world songs to babies asleep on the curbs, where boys play checkers in the roadway, and where the cafes intimately spill over onto the sidewalks, mingling philosophy with politics long after the hour when good Americans have cast aside their *Saturday Evening Posts*, turned out the lights, and fallen asleep. There the Drifter found Mr. Moskovsky and his zimbaloon.

* * * * *

THE Drifter has a learned friend who insists that zimbaloon is spelled cembalo, and that it is a Hungarian forerunner of the piano. The Drifter despises his friend's learning. Zimbaloon is pronounced on Grand Street, and therefore should be spelled anywhere, zimbaloon; and Mr. Moskovsky is no Hungarian, not even the Rumanian that the signboard of the restaurant might lead the too credulous to suspect, but a Russian, and he played Tchaikowsky, and the Volga boat-song, and the Jewish Lament with an aching richness and a verve which made the glare of Grand Street vanish. It carried Mr. Moskovsky to Vilna in the pogrom country, and it carried the Drifter he hardly knew where, but very, very far from the Third Avenue L. The Drifter sees no reason to envy his friends who flee the city in August.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Question of Conscience

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the time when the Peace Resolution was passed a few weeks ago, there was a debate in the Senate to which little attention has been paid in the daily press. As it concerned only our good faith as a nation it, of course, had little news value. Mr. Walsh of Montana raised the question whether the intent of that part of the Peace Resolution which dealt with alien property was that all this property should be held by us till Germany had waived every claim against us. Mr. Knox replied as follows, and his statement is so important that it is quoted verbatim with certain slight omissions for the sake of brevity (see *Congressional Record*, Vol. 61, No. 64, pp. 3397 ff.) and with a few italics added:

> The purpose of inserting the provision was this: We had a treaty with Prussia running back to 1779 and renewed in 1828 [Mr. Knox is not quite sure of the precise dates] in which we made a specific agreement with Prussia that even in case of war the rights of private property should be sacred. The State Department under the last Administration failed to indicate that the treaty was not in force, and under the general rules of international law it would, I think, be construed to be in force. Of course, the Alien Enemy Act was in direct violation of that treaty if that was in force; . . . We made a treaty with the fact in view that we might possibly at some time be at war and we passed an act of Congress *which, of course, violated the terms of that treaty. We did not propose to become complicated with Ger-*

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many upon that proposition, and therefore this joint resolution suggested that all of the seizures and all of the fines and all of the penalties imposed by the United States upon Germany and upon German nationals [in spite of the fact that we were told by Mr. Wilson that our war was against the German Government and not against the German people] during this war should be confirmed by the German Government, and all claims which, I might state and which I think I am entitled to state, *morally would have arisen against the United States for the violation of a treaty* . . . should be waived, not with the idea, however, that the United States would shrink from her moral obligations to German citizens or nationals whose property she had taken, but until a fair adjustment should be made between the United States and Germany covering the claims of American citizens against Germany. . . . The status may be such that when we sit down to make a treaty, we can be very much more lenient to Germany than this joint resolution indicates. The status may be such that when we come to negotiate that treaty *we may have to require even more drastic terms.*

Mr. Walsh replied that undoubtedly Germany will make a claim on us to the extent of some three quarters of a billion dollars, and if he understood the purport of Mr. Knox's remarks, they meant that "we expect Germany, under this joint resolution, to surrender every claim she has against us, leaving us perfectly free to make reparation to her as we see fit." To this Mr. Knox answered:

I happen to know the trouble and the discord that arise between nations in trying to adjust claims diplomatically. *My desire was to get the United States in a position where there would be no claim against her, except against her conscience. . . . I wanted to close the lawsuit and leave it to the conscience of the American people to adjust these matters with Germany as they saw fit.*

Here is an express acknowledgment that the United States has contributed another scrap of paper to the international waste-paper basket, already so stuffed that its contents are spilling over the floors of all the Foreign Offices. We acknowledge the wrong we have done and the justice of the claim that can be set up against us. How do we propose to right this wrong? By a very singular process. We propose to compel Germany, because we have the whip-hand, to renounce the claims which we admit that she can properly make, and then leave it to the conscience of the American people to treat her fairly. Why do we not treat her fairly in the first place? Why this attempt to avoid a legal obligation and to resort to the American conscience? Because, we are told, a diplomatic lawsuit is a nuisance. The American conscience is undoubtedly capable of great and noble idealisms *when it is properly informed,* but can it be trusted in a matter of this kind when public passions are still inflamed against "the Hun"? In the very same breath in which Mr. Knox repudiates the idea that America would shrink from her moral obligations, he says that the status may be such at the time of negotiating the new treaty that we will have to be even more drastic with Germany than the present peace resolution requires. I have observed during the past seven lean years in the moral life of mankind that the nations have developed the sharpest eyes to discern the moral turpitude of their enemies, but are quite blind to the same sins when committed by themselves. I even hazard the conjecture that there will be some who may chance to read this article and will yet fail to perceive the analogy between Bethmann-Hollweg's position in the summer of 1914 and Mr. Knox's position in the summer of 1921.

Keene Valley, New York, August 15 KEMPER FULLERTON

What a Political Prisoner Thinks About

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following portions of a letter which has just come to me from Harrison George, one of the members of the I. W. W. at Leavenworth prison, will be of interest to your readers.

Mr. George is one of the 103 I. W. W.'s serving long sentences as a result of the three Federal prosecutions during the war. He was an editor of various labor papers, the author of a number of pamphlets—one of those strong, tempered revolutionary minds so characteristic of the I. W. W. leadership in the West.

New York City, August 24 ROGER BALDWIN

FRIEND ROGER: Someone ought to run a funny strip entitled What a Political Prisoner Thinks About. While squatting here on an upper bunk this fine August evening I feel fatigued, physically and mentally. This Lord's Day I have worshiped in my own way by cleaning my cell. Failing to impress the Gold Dust Twins to do my work, Signor Sapolio and I have busied ourselves all day scrubbing walls, floor, and ceiling—yes, and the bars at the front as well, until all shines as the well-known pin in this four by nine mausoleum of a whilom idealist.

For what purpose does the Omnipotent afflict one with a social vision when it serves but to lead one to manacles and a felon's cell, and fails to inspirit so much as one-tenth of one per cent of one's fellow beings? This question requires an answer from American opinion—if there be such a thing, which one may legitimately doubt. There is neither cohesion nor the desire for it in respect to ending a condition which is making cynics of thinkers. The ultra-Reds are busy postulating impossible upheavals, the common or garden variety occupied with internecine contention for organization offices. The liberals go on liberaling—which means that, after forgiving each other for being asses in 1916 and 1917, they blithely trip from past asininities to new ones. And those who were turned from conservatives by the last four full years are yet dumb with their discovery. True, the I. W. W. membership has contributed generously to our defense and relief. But little appears in its press concerning us and our fate. They may say all efforts are centered on organization. All too true. True again, the Socialist Party has prominently voiced cries for amnesty. Also true it is that the liberals—bless their saccharine souls—deign to mention us now and again. But they do so only in a manner of seeking to prove a point in argument, and apparently regard our incarceration as among the natural phenomena. They seem too priggish to acknowledge that the proletarian saw the trend of events clearer than they—or were more courageous in opinion. And they usually preface a five-line plea for our release with twenty lines making clear that they do not under any circumstance believe in violence. Thus they sound like intellectual poltroons absolving themselves from an imaginary crime—for where and when has aggressive violence been proved against us? These are contemporary Peters who thrice deny the Master—the proletarian—whose lashes fall upon the money-changers in the temple of bourgeois society. Cannot honesty and culture give birth to a more healthy protesting echo?

These things, my friend, demand an answer. I will indulge in no collective rodomontades. The stoics among us grow fewer with the years. The few outside who really work for us are all too few. We feel our misery capitalized by some and ignored by others. Rumors of amnesty are received with mirthless laughter, the prison laugh, the laugh without a smile. Many who came singing to prison now sneer at old ideals. And it is not their fault—but yours of the indifferent outside! One, Fred Esmond, is insane—an Oxford man. Others ask release to bury themselves in the herd or gain the shores of kindlier lands. I see this tragedy of ruined youth and faith about me and wonder if this is the best heritage my American sires could grant. What do I hear from beyond these walls? Your friend,

Leavenworth, Kansas, August 7 HARRISON GEORGE

[NOTE.—Those interested in the movement for amnesty of I. W. W. war prisoners may communicate with the American Civil Liberties Union, 138 West 13th St., New York City.]

A Tariff Crudity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Why praise President Harding so fulsomely in your paragraph of July 27 for putting crude oil on the free list? Why not go back to the original source and place the credit where it belongs? What skill and influence could that group of newly rich independent producers be expected to have, compared with Standard Oil? Standard Oil produces little or no petroleum. It refines it. So there is to be no duty on what Standard Oil buys but a stiff one on what it sells.

Newton, Massachusetts, July 23 PRESCOTT WARREN

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Books

Portraits Not Without Bias

The Mirrors of Washington. Anonymous. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

SHODDINESS is to be expected in imitations, and "The Mirrors of Washington" is no exception to the general rule. Although there is seemingly perfect freedom from restraint, the book fails to achieve the character of "The Mirrors of Downing Street." It lacks that spontaneity, that genuine weariness with smallness and meanness in high places, that suggestion of outraged hope and faith that appear in the first book. One does not discern an angry truth-telling; one discerns too plainly an eye to the fattening of royalties, and the consequent throwing in of the tabasco at fairly regular intervals for the pleasing of a public taste craving hot stuff.

The mirrors of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lodge are illustrations of that purpose to satisfy the public craving for blood. Both are so overdone, so cruel that they must defeat their ends with all normal and ordinarily fair-minded people. Only a rabidly inflamed Democrat could react favorably to the mirror of Senator Lodge; and of Mr. Wilson's myriad enemies only the most blindly violent could see substantial truth in what is written of him—that is, what is written of him in the article devoted to him, for he appears constantly throughout the book, sometimes favorably and sometimes unfavorably, but always in a sanity of treatment far removed from the tone of his mirror.

We learn in the Wilson mirror that Mr. Wilson is afraid of a fight—that he has been running away from rough human contacts all his life; in a word, we learn that Mr. Wilson is a coward. More than that, he has been a failure all his life. The premise of the reasoning is that Mr. Wilson abandoned the practice of law, thereby proving himself lacking in the robustness that the average man possesses. That is the dreadful secret. Understand that, and one perceives "a certain inferiority" from which one may draw a conclusion that will explain his defeat in the treaty fight, and that also will cast a new light upon his career, showing that he failed with amazing steadiness all the way from his first professorship to the Presidency of the United States.

Always he was afflicted with a "shrinking from life, a neurotic something that in the end brought on defeat and the final overthrow." It ought to be possible to write something sufficiently stinging about Mr. Wilson without resorting to such nonsense as that about the man who, whatever one may think about his purposes and methods, must be conceded one of the most audacious and equally one of the most stubborn fighters in our day. The writer might have done much better had he devoted the same ingenuity to, say, a development of Samuel G. Blythe's idea of a never-ending conflict between the canny Scot and the Calvinistic missionary.

The Lodge mirror lacks even the measurably redeeming quality of novelty and ingenuity to be found in the Wilson article. Mr. Lodge is a malignant old man, long the waiter for, and now the possessor of, dead men's shoes. There is nothing in his Congressional career of more than a generation other than his Force bill, his bill to compel England to accept the silver standard, and his treaty fight. He is pictured as ashamed of the first two, and the question is asked whether he will be proud of the last. And the whole thing is written in a vein of furious enmity. If the late Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky, master partisan orator of the Democracy, were alive, and were called upon to take the hide off the Republican leaders, he could stick the Lodge article into his speech without changing a word.

This is typical of the spirit of the Lodge mirror: "Mr Lodge is a classical scholar, and one wonders whether he remembers his Epictetus: 'But you utter your elegant words only from your lips; for this reason they are without strength and dead, and it is nauseous to listen to your exhortations and your miserable virtue; which is talked of everywhere.'"

It is pleasant to turn from that attempted brutality to such an article as that on President Harding. There is a really brilliant piece of work. It is a portrayal of the President as he is—a naturally easy-going, rather indolent, Middle Western statesman, looking for the broad road and the good fellows, always thinking of mankind in terms of the old home town. The characteristics are made to stand out like etchings, and yet there is a certain excellence of proportion about it all that banishes the thought that a deliberate effort is being made to belittle the President. One feels that the writer has his eye on Mr. Harding, not on the royalties.

"All his life," the writer informs us simply and truthfully, "Mr. Harding has shown a predilection for companions who give him complete mental relaxation. . . . There is a certain softness about him mentally. . . . The 'just folks' level of his mind, his small town man's caution, his sense of the security of the past, his average hopes and fears and practicality, his standardized Americanism which would enable a people who wanted for a season to do so to take themselves politically for granted. . . . We are nationally like Harding, who is typical of what we are. 'Just folks,' Kuppenheimered, movieized, associated pressed folks."

That, and much more like it, is Mr. Harding to the last detail, but, however galling it might be to another man, however galling it may be today to Mr. Harding, now that he has had six months of the adulation and homage given a President in his personal contacts, the thing is so exactly and simply truthful that it would not have been galling to the old Harding, and it will not be a blow under the belt to the average reader.

Of a piece with the Harding mirror is that of Bernard M. Baruch. Anybody, anywhere may know Mr. Baruch by reading the sketch of him, for it is everlastingly true that "for Baruch the great romance is Baruch, the astonishing plaything of fate, who started life as a three-dollar-a-week broker's clerk; made millions, lost millions, made millions again, lost millions again; finally, still young, quit Wall Street with a fortune that left the game of the market dull and commonplace, seeking a new occupation for his energies; became during the war, next to the President, the most powerful man in Washington. . . . Is it vanity? You say that a man who talks so much about himself must be vain. . . . Is a child vain when it brings some little childish accomplishment, some infantile drawing on paper, and delightedly and frankly marvels at what he has done? It is given to children and to the naive openly to wonder at themselves without vanity."

Mr. Root is pictured finely. One gets a reliable insight into his career and work, and an estimate of the man that is worth much. The writer borrows the estimate of the man from Boies Penrose, who is quoted as having said of Mr. Root: "He is a first-class second, but he is not his own man." Penrose knows men. Almost as good is the mirror of Secretary Hoover. There is some lashing of him, apparently on the ground that he is too good to be true, but the lashes are rather accurately applied and there is a clear portrayal of the powers the man really has.

From that point the articles grade down rapidly. The one of Mr. Hughes tells nothing new, we merely have confirmed our suspicions that Colonel House is a kind-hearted, loyal man of no original ability; nothing of much greater value than an ordinary newspaper sketch is given of Colonel Harvey, and Mr. Lansing is treated as he has become accustomed to being treated. Of the articles on Johnson, Borah, Knox, and Penrose, only that on Johnson is above the commonplace.

JOHN W. OWENS

The Occupied Rhineland

The Rhineland Treaty and the Decrees of the High Commission in Coblenz. Compiled and annotated by H. and W. Vogels. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber.

THE Germans cannot understand why America is so little impressed by the sufferings of the people in the districts along the Rhine occupied by enemy troops. They do not know

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that, except for a very few old Southerners who suffered the enormities of the occupation under the carpetbaggers in the late sixties, there are no Americans who can even dimly realize what enemy occupation means.

What it does mean is grimly illustrated by a recent two-volume work on "The Rhineland Treaty and the Decrees of the High Commission in Coblenz," compiled and annotated by Government Councilor H. Vogels and State's Attorney Dr. W. Vogels of Cologne and published by A. Marcus & E. Weber at Bonn. The two volumes are purely juristic, there is no commentary that is not a passionless interpretation of the laws and decrees, but the cumulative effect as one reads from beginning to end is impressive. The *Leitmotif* is the rights of the High Commission and the duties of the citizens of the occupied districts; one looks vainly for any indication that the Commission also has duties and the citizens rights.

Both in their private and public lives and conduct the unhappy subjects of the occupying Powers move and have their being in an atmosphere of restrictions. Their mail may be opened and withheld, their telegrams divulged; a moment's thoughtlessness in the presence of the meanest soldier of the troops of occupation may subject them to prosecution before an enemy court for "insult by word, act, or gesture to the members of the High Commission, persons attached thereto, the forces of occupation or any member thereof, or the colors or insignia of the Allied Powers." Political meetings may be held only upon forty-eight hours' notice and express permission. The commander of the Düsseldorf district now requires that the text of all proposed speeches be submitted to him. At the outset the French flatly prohibited the singing of any patriotic song in all circumstances, even in private houses. The High Commission modified this to provide that such songs must not be sung in circumstances rendering them an insult to the forces of occupation.

The freedom of the press is done away with. The High Commission may—and regularly does—suspend newspapers for a period up to three months. The press must publish free of charge any communication sent to it by the High Commission. A German disobeying "any order of the High Commission" can be fined, imprisoned, and banished from his own homeland. Laws of the German Reich are not valid unless approved by the Commission. Any German must be delivered up to the Commission on demand, despite a provision in the German Constitution forbidding the surrender of a German citizen to any foreign Power. A German law providing that state documents may not be demanded by a court if their production would be harmful to the interests of the state is set aside as to the occupied districts. Permission to fly either the old or the new German flag must be asked forty-eight hours in advance. The French authorities originally forbade the display of either unqualifiedly.

Luggage or baggage of the members of the High Commission and its personnel, of officers and persons holding an officer's rank, and of members of their families cannot be controlled by the German customs authorities in any circumstances; baggage of other members of the forces of occupation can be investigated only when there is reason to suspect fraud, and then only in the presence of Allied officials. All Germans in uniform must salute all Allied officers and the colors. Every person more than fourteen years old must carry a pass with photograph. Any inhabitant of the occupied territory can be banished at will by the High Commission "if it appears that the presence of that person is dangerous to the maintenance, safety, or requirements of the troops of occupation or to the interests of public order." The Commission's power to make such findings is absolute and uncontrollable.

These are but a few of the ordinances set out in the Vogels' work. In themselves they give an idea of what it means to live under enemy occupation in times of peace, but it is only a faint idea, after all. One does not learn from them, for instance, that five schoolhouses in Düsseldorf have been confiscated as barracks for the French troops, and orders have been given to refit a sixth schoolhouse for occupancy by French officers and their families. (The Hague convention provides specifically that requisitions may be made only for the troops of occupation, and not for members of their households.) Banishments are freely employed. As I write comes a report of the banishing of three residents of Wiesbaden because of their participation in a summer solstice celebration in Caub, which is not in the occupied district.

Of melancholy though academic interest is the text of the agreement signed on June 16, 1919, by Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George, limiting the costs of occupation to a maximum of 12,000,000 pounds sterling per year as soon as Germany should have fulfilled the conditions for disarmament. Formal notice of this agreement has never been given to the German Government, the costs of occupation were ten times the sum stated last year and will probably be quite as high this year.

S. Miles Bouton

Economic Determinism of the Gods

The Ways of the Gods. By Algernon Sidney Crapsey. The International Press.

MR. CRAPSEY has plainly set forth his own thesis: "I found—or at least, I think I found—a necessary relation between the life of a god and the life of his people. The god of a given people is the embodiment of the economic conditions of that people, and the economic conditions determine the social and political institutions of a people. Hence it is that under certain economic conditions, with their attendant social and political institutions, a given god has sway over the religious life of a people. When these economic conditions change, this god disappears, and a new god takes his place. . . . It is my purpose in the pages that follow to trace this history of the gods to its natural causes; to show why in our day, for instance, the popularity of Joseph is growing, that of the Virgin declining."

It must not be thought that this economic interpretation of theology leaves Dr. Crapsey cold to religion. Every page proves the contrary. Thus we find him writing: "The trouble with the labor movement in the modern world is that it is without religious leadership. It has no god. It is not a struggle for spiritual but for economic betterment; it is not a question of the sovereignty of labor but of the wages of labor. It is a series of small compromises secured at great cost. The labor leaders for the most part have no outlook; they have not had the training of Moses in the palace nor in the wilderness; they are mere opportunists, men of their day drifting with their time. They do not know that their gods have been stolen from them and are used against them. They need a Moses who will stand before the Pharaohs of the world in the name of the Lord God Jehovah, and claim the rights of labor as inalienable, divine rights, not to be voided by time, not to be hindered by vested interests, not to be strangled by law, but that forever a man shall have the right to enjoy to the full the product of the labor of his brain and his hand."

What Mr. Crapsey achieves is an interesting and suggestive but not authoritative piece of work. The style is the style of a preacher, a good preacher, but still a preacher. The contents show wide but not always accurate information. On page after page Mr. Crapsey's assertions would be challenged by competent scholars. This might not matter very much were not basic facts and the generalizations from them so often open to question. (See, for example, his conception of the primitive family and his sweeping criticism of medievalism.) Still worse, in the rush of his ideas he fails to see that he has not adequately established his own thesis. This, be it remembered, is that "the god of a given people is the embodiment of the economic condition of that people." Granted that the conception of God varies with changing economic conditions, something else remains to be said. The God of the Hebrew prophets cannot be explained simply by the eco-

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nomic conditions of Israel. These conditions were common to more than one Semitic tribe yet they produced no Isaiah, no Amos, no Hosea, no Jesus. Symbolize your God if you will by an algebraic formula in which economic conditions are fully represented; there will always remain in your formula the unknown quantity x. How important is that quantity Mr. Crapsey's own book unconsciously proves. The principle of economic determinism in human history is highly suggestive, it is not an exact formula. Still less does it lay bare before our eyes all the ways of the gods.

Frustrate Ladies

The Heel of Achilles. By E. M. Delafield. The Macmillan Company.

The Lost Girl. By D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer.

SUBURBAN parlors, slaveys, extra fires, weary old maids, didactic uncles, bacon and tea—the eternal tea—gas-light, cold mutton—the world of the British middle classes familiar from Dickens on. Arnold Bennett paints it for us, and Hugh Walpole. Now also Miss Delafield and Mr. Lawrence. It is an ugly and dispiriting world; it is, rightly looked upon, a preposterous world. Yet all these writers get a perfectly genuine fascination out of it. They have all seen it, lived in it, suffered from it. Thus they can render it with an exactness that communicates tone, mood, savor, the very feeling of atmospheres and textures. And that is literature.

In the midst of this world—within it, of course, there are shadings and differentiations—they place a young woman whose relation to it, whether of harmony or rebellion, submission or flight, is the substance of the story. Commonly, in these days, the protagonist conquers or flees. Miss Delafield's Lydia Raymond does neither; Mr. Lawrence's Alvina Houghton is swept out on strange tides.

The author of "Consequences" and "Tension" makes a magnificent start. She is dry and precise and ironic. The portraits of Lydia's immediate relatives are masterly. Grandpapa is marvelous. When Lydia goes to London she meets people, mainly women, who are characterized with the same brilliancy —Miss Foster, Mrs. Bulteel, Miss Lillicrap, Lady Honoret. But here Miss Delafield is no longer luminously just. She is waspish. And that waspishness is retroactively emphasized when, in the third and final stage of Lydia's career, she reaches the sacred county. The ladies of the county family and of the rector's family are, by contrast with the suburbanites and Londoners and upstarts, quite too fine and austere and honorable. They correspond too much to the strong, silent Englishman of the imperialist mythology of race. Lady Honoret is flighty and, if you please, dissolute. That is bad enough. But she does, on Miss Delafield's own showing, care sincerely though ignorantly for the things that really matter. What do Joyce Damerel and Lady Lucy care for at all? They are as dull as the London boarders and not half so amusing. They dwell with archaic sentiments and duties which are agreeable as gestures of life but very destructive in their effects on civilization. Miss Delafield is taken in by her aristocrats. That is her heel of Achilles.

Lydia herself is not as profoundly convincing as her companions. If her novel had, as we are assured, any real merit, she would have gone on writing. Literary success is, of all things in the world, most healing to the egotist. It gives him constantly what Lydia is said to have most wanted—the *beau rôle*. Not in the county, Miss Delafield might reply. There family is above fame and tennis more important than artistic triumphs. Well, would Lydia with her instincts have married the Reverend Clement Damerel? Lydia's tragic defect is that she can love no one. When at last she does love—it is her daughter, of course—she bungles. She is not defensible. But her fate misses tragic fire on account of one's suspicion that her actions are not true and that her foils are chosen with snobbish partisanship. These circumstances rob the second half of Miss Delafield's book of the force and inner eloquence she leads us to expect.

The problem of Mr. Lawrence's Alvina Houghton is, quite plainly, that of the flesh. This problem Miss Delafield acknowledges only remotely and half contemptuously through the background figure of Beatrice Senthoven. To Mr. Lawrence it is absorbing. Alvina is a woman in a cage. She is the waiting daughter of European middle-class tradition. No suitor comes. The years pass. She tries various things. She becomes a maternity nurse. But circumstances always bring her back into the cage. At last, through an undertaking of her father, she comes in contact with a little theatrical group and so with Ciccio. The Italian peasant, quite naively unaware of codes and inhibitions, takes her and marries her finally and carries her off to his somber and rude Apennine village. Alvina nearly perishes of the life there. But she stays. Her fundamental instincts keep her. They are stronger, once she has come in full contact with them, than the acquired habits of her particular civilization which made no proper allowance for those very instincts. She is lost to her country, her friends, herself. But in that losing she finds a deeper and more permanent self.

Mr. Lawrence uses a rather deliberate incoherence of method, an equally deliberate staccato modulation of style. But his characterizations and details are as authentic as Miss Delafield's and far more undeviatingly so because he cannot like her be taken in. His thinking is incorruptible. "The same idea represents a different kind of feeling in every different individual." And every individual's peculiar mode of feeling is valid and supremely important to him. On such a basis the novelist or dramatist exercises justice and achieves truth. Mr. Lawrence lets every character have his case. There is no polemic distortion from some outside angle of fancied superiority. Thus, despite his mannerisms and violences, he hits the essential far oftener than Miss Delafield and his book, though less finished and beautifully wrought, is far more memorable and instructive.

Books in Brief

THE birth of *The Labour Monthly* (6 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1, subscription 15 shillings) is a real event. For it is edited by the same able group which has given the Labour Research Department in London its international fame, and which edited that extraordinarily useful encyclopedia of the world labor movement, the International Labor Yearbook. The first issue, that for July, includes Lenin's pamphlet defending the new Russian economic policy, a documented discussion of the crisis in French trades unionism, a valuable note on the Norwegian general strike, a telling discussion of British policy toward native labor in East Africa by Leonard Woolf, and an article by G. D. H. Cole taking stock of the position of British labor consequent upon the collapse of the Triple Alliance in the coal strike. If later numbers continue this standard the *Labour Monthly* will be the indispensable guide to those who have hitherto sought in vain to keep up with developments in the international labor movement.

AS Æschylus prided himself more on his military exploits than on his dramas, so his modern interpreter, the poet-scholar of Oxford, Gilbert Murray, seems to have changed his academic gown for the statesman's toga. His last contribution to the subject, "Problems of Foreign Policy" (Houghton Mifflin Company), sets forth in the best dramatic and thought-arousing style the truly dreadful predicament of Europe. The cure for most of the woes of the world, the relief needed by Germany and by France, the balm for the sore spots in the East, the healing for Russia, and the prophylactic against future dangers, is found by the writer in the League of Nations. Goethe said that men did not realize how anthropomorphic they were; evidently British publicists do not realize how English they are. Like Maynard Keynes, Professor Murray views everything from the standpoint of the British Empire, and does it so naturally and

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sincerely that in perfect good faith he identifies not only the good of the world but the laws of right and justice with the interests of his own nation. One of his main arguments for the League of Nations is that it would prevent "wars caused by an irresistible desire to escape from foreign oppression or intolerable conditions. They are made unnecessary by provisions enabling any oppressed nation to lay its case before the Assembly or Council and obtain redress." But in another place he protests that "the Irish question is, under present conditions, a domestic matter, since Ireland forms by law a part of the United Kingdom." Can even a poet make these two theses rhyme? But this allowance made for national bias, what Mr. Murray has to say is well worth reading. His condemnation of Lloyd George's action in the peace conference is the severest yet written. "It was for him to choose plain good or plain evil. And he chose, deliberately, evil . . . I did not realize that anyone could be, I will not say so wicked, but so curiously destitute of generous ambition, so incapable of thinking greatly."

Art

Art and the World's Illusion

AS one watches the crowds that gather daily at the Metropolitan where the Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters are on view, one is prone to wonder whether they sense, by way of the exhibition, the impact of a deep-lying and congruous impulse at work in modern life, vividly reflected in our art and literature. And sensing it, are they perhaps able to disengage from the welter of emotions so caused drifts and previsions. For, certainly, such broad nomenclature as Impressionist and Post-Impressionist, in view of the impressive diversity of the artists who fought under these gonfalons, is of but meager service to the lay visitor. Is it too exacting, then, to ask for a precipitate of crystal in our daily and occasional art criticism?

Experiment and accomplished beauty will be discovered side by side at the Metropolitan. Along with the nervous changes wrought upon tradition by the war, the office of the Museum has undergone a profound transmutation. It is now—as was witnessed in Philadelphia several months ago, as is being witnessed in New York today—on the point of enacting Renoir's warmly cherished hope that the Museum turn itself into the young artist's most vigorous teacher.

This typical young painter may now study, if he cares, with an eye to relative values, the unique achievement of the last half-century in French painting. In several cases, it is true, individual men are not represented by their most commanding work, but the student as well as the layman will be in a better position justly to appraise both movements than if the tentative canvases were entirely absent. William Butler Yeats has recently told us something about the war against subject as it was waged in London during the nineties. Apparently he puts the larger blame upon Bastien-Lepage, forgetting, I think, that the whole tendency of Impressionist painting, leading off with Manet himself who first stressed the use of instant light and color, moved instinctively toward the subordination of subject in the interest of sudden impression. This, if rightly looked at, is but a fresh emphasis in art of the concept that life is essentially fluxial in character. The professed aim of the Impressionists was, whether they acted in response to the scientific temper of the age or not, to fix on canvas some evanescent phase of the mobility of earthly existence.

Seurat and Signac, who are well represented here, lie perhaps somewhat outside the hardy main stream of Impressionism. Pointillism, or painting by means of closely massed dots, does not persist as a vital force today; no enduring freshets have sprung into being out of the veins of these men. With Camille Pissarro, their master, however, it was far otherwise. Both Van Gogh and Degas, who, together with Cézanne, form the major influence among *les fauves* today, in their salad days, it will be remembered, played the sedulous mime to Pissarro.

Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Degas gave the decisive bent to the succeeding movement known as Post-Impressionism. The first two and Gauguin, who must ever after be named with them, were perpetually tormented by a cankerous weariness, as of the flesh, of what Europe called her priceless civilization. They were filled with an ineffable yearning for primitive expression and energy, for a naive way of life. After a brief romantic and Impressionist period at the Ecole de Batignoles, Cézanne fairly startled his contemporaries by bursting upon them with body, tang, and mass, an altogether new and personal volcanic force. His uncouth form, his passionate distortions, led him, as they now lead us, back to primogenial levels. In an age and space much too preoccupied with technical patter of all sorts, Cézanne uttered the magic word of freedom, and that word was something as follows: "It is by way of the pith, the very bowels of the earth, that ye shall be saved!"

One of the most amazing things about this *Drang nach Ur-Erde,* so to speak, is that it was capable of seizing upon a painter of Gauguin's caliber, who could express this active feeling in decorative fashion. And by virtue of this feeling we have come to see that a civilization like our own, mostly brummagem and functioning by way of cozenage, may in some measure be atoned for by sensitive beings like Poe and Gauguin, like Shelley and Whitman and Samuel Butler, whom it contrives to turn out of doors. Gauguin, to be sure, departed for the tropics of his own accord. But this only serves to strengthen the belief that the ultimate peccavi or mitigation of our little world of barter and hate may lie in a desperate summoning of its soul-sick arch-rebels. When Strindberg, an idol-breaker himself, chided Gauguin for quitting civilization, the latter replied: "Your civilization is your disease. My barbarism is my restoration to health." A hint of this restoration is penetratingly felt in La Orana Maria. The Tahitian landscape is piercingly realized. An air of subtle calm is braced with the sap and profusion of foliage and plant life, the ceremony is simple yet eloquent, savage and yet somehow reminiscent of its purely Christian origin.

The throb of earthy vigor is not only apparent on the surface but wellnigh heard in Van Gogh, a quality indeed as unhindered and free as some forms of vegetable life about to break up into vivid new combinations. For him life, as well as art, was beautifully untamed. If some one had urged upon Van Gogh that trivialities do, after all, run through existence, he would have rejoined, one imagines, with brusque self-assurance: "Trivialities, sir, are the evil fruit of impotent and lamed senses." A bowl of fruit, a cane chair are so vivified at Van Gogh's touch that they are fairly made to thrill with the passionate lift of stirring and breathing things. Plow and Farm House are both genuinely great pictures. His self-portrait reveals him with stiff reddish hair, aggressive flesh, and challenging green eyes. Degas, on the other hand, although he did not lack positive force, was at bottom a cerebral painter. He chose ballet rehearsals and ill-favored attitudes with a kind of self-aware malice. From mere prettification he fled as from a plague.

Soft white cloud and mauve haze, the fragrance of romance and the lure of faerie, these are the impressions one gets from the work of Odilon Redon. At the center of his colorful harmonies, however, there appears to dwell something like a will-to-intensity. The intensity seems to have been dulled by contact with our dominant illusion, civilization. In Roger and Angelica, a subject borrowed from Ariosto, he is perfectly at home. The insinuatingly sweet lines, with their sensuous rise and fall, are borne in upon the mind:

> "Creduto avria che fosse statua finta
> O d' alabastro o d' altri marmi illustri
> Ruggiero — — — — — —"

With Matisse and Picasso we come at length upon the new phase, the phase, that is, of *les fauves*. Both men are not belied

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by the canvases hung here, and they, fittingly enough, bring to head the stream of insurgency against the world's illusion. Matisse studied Negro sculpture in order to escape it. Picasso would announce that life is still beautiful, even though Comstockery ignore or outlaw or suppress it.

What is the drift of these painters, then, mirroring, as they do, the temper of revolt in their narrow half-century? Such men as Renoir and Redon cry out against our mechanical barbarism; Cézanne, Degas, and Van Gogh go in search of a fiercer reality, and Gauguin flees to the cool depths of a half-primitive milieu. For, in order to think clearly nowadays, it is necessary first of all to become a *révolté*. Observe, for example, what has happened in the sphere of literature: Shaw has turned a Lamarckian faith-healer, Romain Rolland an out-and-our propagandist, and Wassermann exhorts us to the atavistic penitence of St. Francis, to the practice not of Christianity but of Christ, so that the beauty of man's spirit might be preserved.

PIERRE LOVING

Drama

The Last of Rostand

La dernière nuit de Don Juan. Par Edmond Rostand. Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle.

THE reputation of Edmond Rostand had markedly declined even before his death two years ago. Echoes of his enormous vogue are still found among those who cannot permanently distinguish a manner from a style, and a rather vibrant optimism from the intrepidity of truth. But "Cyrano" and even "Chantecler" dazzle us no more. The superstructures were brave; the foundations were flimsy and fragile. The plays swept a world that was fighting naturalism while seeming to accept it. For the world is always romantically minded and the adolescent is waiting to spring up in the breast of every man.

Yet it is but fair to admit that Rostand did go through a kind of intellectual development. "Cyrano" sets forth a sentimental, romantic antithesis and might have been summed up in a verse in Victor Hugo's worst dramatic style. The central idea in "Chantecler" is a commonplace and a questionable commonplace. But it is supported and illustrated with both subtlety and skill. Rostand's posthumous play marks a further step in the same direction. The conclusion is flat and lame and falsely idealistic. He is on the side of the angels without ever inquiring after the authenticity of their angelic character. But though his direction is unmistakable, his progress is thoughtful. The ideas he rejects are the best in the play. But to reject them was to acknowledge that they are.

He chose a great subject that is still awaiting its final artistic embodiment. Don Juan is the hero of Molière and Mozart, of Byron and Shaw. But there is yet no "Don Juan" in the sense in which there is a "Faust." To create such a "Don Juan"—"autre chose qu'un docteur Faust"—was Rostand's high and admirable ambition. He was not equal to it, of course. But to have embraced it so intelligently was something, was much.

What misled him was the spirit of the famous saying, "What is not clear is not French." Very well, if the clearness is the last result of hardy and intricate thinking. But very often this French clearness is achieved at a leap. The darkness is left behind without ever having been traversed. But this process commends itself to the conservative mind. The traditional moral world is built upon a vast antithesis that omits all shadings and so most concrete facts. Hence nothing is easier than to be clear and classical and, upon any close consideration, false. Rostand's aim was first to show Don Juan and then to show him up. Thus in the first part of the poem Don Juan states his case and in the second part that case is shattered. But it is shattered too completely. The replies are terribly pat and not at all devastating. No figure that has employed both the imagination of the folk and the interest of so many great wits can be the poor thing of bran and wood to which Rostand would reduce it. He proves too much to prove anything and leaves out of his clearness the shadows cast by a difficult and complicated world.

The Devil comes to fetch Don Juan, who boasts both foolishly

Fils des Conquistadores, la Femme est ma Floride—

and with a touch of sad wisdom when he declares it was his impulse

D'oublier un instant que tout contient un ver.

The edge of a profound conception of the mythical rake was touched here and of another and more cynical but still profound one in these other lines spoken by Don Juan himself:

Le seul héros qu'admire au fond l'humanité.
Mais lis leurs livres! vois leurs drames! tout l'atteste!
Vois de quel œil luisant la vertu me déteste! . . .
Je suis leur nostalgie à tous! Il n'est pas d'œuvre,
Il n'est pas de vertu, de science ou de foi
Qui ne soit le regret de ne pas être moi!

It is an enormous overstatement. But it is the overstatement of an enormously important truth which might have inspired a drama pregnant with irony and tragic force. But Rostand had no time for truth. He was hastening toward the angels. And so the Devil summons the shades of the one thousand and three ladies of Don Juan's traditional affairs in order to confuse and confound him.

They do so with neatness and dispatch. The rhetoric glitters and sparkles. He has truly known none of them, these strictly modern and intellectual shades declare. He seduced them when they were ready and was accepted because he offered himself most frequently. He was the puppet of woman as the corresponding feminine type is of man. He fled from passion to passion in order to escape the purging pains of love. He has had all women and never possessed one. His interest in humanity is an affront to a great cause and the hell of creative sinners is closed to his barren soul. "Tu seras," the Devil shouts at him,

Une marionnette et tu ressasseras
L'adultère éternel dans un carré bleuâtre.

"Grâce! l'éternel feu!" Don Juan begs. And the Devil raps out, of course: "Non! l'éternel théâtre!" The eternal theater—it is the final judgment on Rostand as he makes it the final judgment on his protagonist. He had a vision of the bright, rhetorical verses that would reduce sin to emptiness, caress the unthinking mind, and come with resonance and finish from the lips of some Coquelin. He had pondered his problem, but the theater came between himself and it. The moral is the recurrent one. To write greatly for the theater you must disdain it. You must disdain, at least, the particular theater of your decade and write for that enduring stage on which, sporadically but surely, the great and profound dramatist will find his hearing in the end.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

The Plain Truth About Russia

RUSSIA FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY

April, 1916 November, 1918

by

DAVID R. FRANCIS

U. S. Ambassador

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International Relations Section

The Russo-Turkish Treaty

THE text of the treaty of alliance concluded between Soviet Russia and Turkey on March 16 last is here given in full as translated from *Russische Korrespondenz* (Leipzig) for May.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, agreeing upon the principles of the brotherhood of nations and of the self-determination of peoples, recognizing the solidarity which has grown up between them in their struggle against imperialism, as well as the fact that any difficulties of one of them injure the other also, and desiring to establish permanent and intimate relations and lasting and sincere friendship upon the mutual interests of the two parties, have decided to conclude a treaty of brotherhood and friendship with each other, and for that purpose have named the following plenipotentiaries:

For the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, George Vassilievich Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and member of the All Russian Central Executive Committee; and Dshilal Eddin Korkmassov, member of the All Russian Central Executive Committee; and

For the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, Yussuf Kemal Bey, People's Commissar for National Economy of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and deputy for Kastamuni in the said Assembly; Dr. Riza Nur Bey, People's Commissar for Education of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and deputy for Sinope in the said Assembly; and Ali Fuad Pasha, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and deputy for Angora in the said Assembly,

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I. Each of the contracting parties agrees to recognize no treaty of peace or other international act to acceptance of which the other of the contracting parties may be compelled by the use of force. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic agrees to recognize no international act concerning Turkey which shall not be recognized by the National Government of Turkey which is at present represented by the Great National Assembly.

The word Turkey as used in this treaty shall be understood to indicate those territories included in the Turkish National Agreement of January 28, 1330 (1920), as prepared and announced by the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies at Constantinople and communicated to the press and to the various states. The northeastern border of Turkey will be fixed by a line beginning at the village Ssarp on the Black Sea, crossing the mountain Chedis-Mta and following the watershed of the mountain Shavshet Kanni Dat, following the northern boundary of the sanjaks of Ardansk and of Karsk, the course of the Arpa Tshai and Arax Rivers to the mouth of the lower Kara Su. (An exact description of the boundaries will be found in Appendices 1, A and B, and upon the map signed by the two contracting parties.)

ART. 2. Turkey agrees to renounce in favor of Georgia sovereignty over the harbor and city of Batum and over the territory forming a part of the Batum district which lies northward of the boundary described in Article 1 of this treaty, on condition (1) that the population of the localities described in this article of the treaty shall enjoy extensive local administrative autonomy guaranteeing religious and cultural rights to each community, and that the population shall be given opportunity to adopt an agrarian law in accordance with its desires; (2) that Turkey shall be given free transit opportunity for all wares passing to or from Turkey via the harbor of Batum, free from customs duty, entirely unhindered and without being taxed in any way, and that Turkey shall have the right to use the harbor of Batum without special expense.

ART. 3. The two contracting parties agree that the territory of Nachitshevany, lying within the boundaries described in Appendix 1 (B), shall form an autonomous territory under the protection of Azerbaijan, provided that Azerbaijan shall not renounce its protectorate to any third state. In the triangular zone of the territory of Nachitshevany which is bounded by the course of the River Arax and the mountain-line Dagna (3829)-Woli Dag (4121)-Bagarsik (6587)-Kemurlu Dag (6930), the boundary line beginning at Kemurlu Dag, passing over the mountain Szerai Bulak (8071), passing the station Ararat, and ending at the confluence of the rivers Kara Su and Arax will be fixed by a commission composed of delegates of Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

ART. 4. The two contracting parties note the points of contact between the movement for national freedom of the peoples of the East and the struggle of the working population of Russia for a new social order, and they solemnly recognize the right of these peoples to freedom and independence and their right to choose a form of government in accordance with their desires.

ART. 5. In order to guarantee that the Dardanelles shall be open and free to trade the two contracting parties agree to intrust the final elaboration of an international statute for the Black Sea and the Dardanelles to a special conference of delegates of the coast countries, provided that the provisions agreed upon shall not impair the full sovereignty of Turkey or the safety of Turkey and its capital Constantinople.

ART. 6. The two contracting parties agree that all the treaties hitherto concluded between the two countries do not represent their mutual interests. They therefore agree to consider these treaties as abrogated and nullified. In particular the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares that it regards Turkey as free from all financial and other obligations resting upon international agreements concluded between Turkey and the Czar's Government.

ART. 7. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, considering the regime of capitulations incompatible with the free national development of any country or with complete realization of its rights of sovereignty, abrogates and nullifies all rights and agreements connected with that regime.

ART. 8. The two contracting parties agree not to permit within their territories the formation or residence of organizations or groups which claim to be governments of the other party or of a part of its territory, and not to permit the residence of groups whose purpose is to operate against the other state. Russia and Turkey also accept as regards their territory the same obligation with regard to the soviet republics of the Caucasus. The Turkish territory referred to in this article is understood to signify the territory under the immediate military and civil administration of the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey.

ART. 9. In order to guarantee the continuity of relations between the two countries the contracting parties find themselves, upon common agreement, to take all necessary measures for maintenance and as rapid development as may be possible of the railroad and telegraph systems and of other means of communication so as to assure unhampered free transport of goods and of people between the two countries. Import and export of goods and entry and departure of travelers will, however, be subject to all the legal provisions in operation in each country.

ART. 10. All citizens of either of the contracting parties resident upon the territory of the other are subject to all the rights and duties arising from the laws of the land in which they may be present, with exception of the duties of national

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defense from which they shall be exempt. Questions relating to family rights, right of inheritance, and capacity of action of citizens of the two parties are also excepted and will be treated in a special agreement.

ART. 11. The two contracting parties agree to practice the principle of the most favored nation clause toward all citizens of either of the contracting parties resident upon the territory of the other. This article does not apply to citizens of the soviet republics allied with Russia nor to citizens of the Moslem countries allied with Turkey.

ART. 12. All citizens of territories which prior to 1918 formed a part of Russia and which by virtue of this treaty are recognized by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic as standing under the sovereignty of Turkey, are entitled to leave Turkey without let or hindrance, and to take with them their goods and possessions or their equivalent. Inhabitants of the territory of Batum have the same right. By the present treaty Turkey renounces sovereignty over them to Georgia.

ART. 13. Russia agrees, at her expense, to transport all Turkish military and civil prisoners now in Russia to the northeastern frontier of Turkey, and to complete this operation for those now in European Russia or in the Caucasus within three months of the signature of this treaty and within six months for those now in Asiatic Russia.

ART. 14. The two contracting parties agree shortly to sign a convention regarding consular representation and to agree upon the regulation of all economic, financial, and other questions as may be necessary for establishment of the friendly relations indicated in the preamble to the present treaty.

ART. 15. Russia agrees to take the necessary steps to obtain recognition on the part of the trans-Caucasian republics of the articles of the present treaty immediately concerning them.

ART. 16. The present treaty shall be ratified. The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Kars as soon as possible. With the exception of Article 13 this treaty will come into force immediately upon exchange of ratifications. In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and attached their seals thereto.

Done at Moscow, March 16, 1921, in two copies.

(Signed) GEORGE CHICHERIN, DSHILAL KARKMASSOV, YUSSUF KEMAL, DR. RIZA NUR, ALI FUAD.

Turkey's Diplomatic Style

THE following letter from the Turkish Ambassador at Moscow to the Russian Foreign Minister reveals the rather curious relations between the new allies, combining as it does the conventional language of diplomacy and the phraseology of modern communism.

Moscow, June 22, 1921

TO THE COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC:

After reading your honored letter of June 15, 1921, No. 1798, I permit myself the following observations: It is true that the Turkish people in its national movement has not envisaged such a social revolution as that achieved by communism in Russia. But on the other hand it is undeniable that the Turkish people, by their struggle against imperialism for the preservation of their national independence, by protecting one flank of the Soviet Republic, by continuing to shed blood for their national ideal, have rendered particularly to Soviet Russia and in general to the world revolution incomparably more service than other countries which have sought to make a social revolution and have declared themselves soviet republics. For this reason Nationalist Turkey, isolated, believes it has the right to ask the moral support of the communist world, and that is why I had the honor of presenting the question to the enlightened and perspicacious attention of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs. I believe that the communist leaders who constantly criticize the tactical errors of certain young communists who imperil the cause of communism and of the national movement will not remain indifferent to the acts of young communists. While my Government remains faithful to the general principles of the Treaty of Moscow, I cannot conceive that the leaders of the communist world can refuse their moral support to my country and to my Government.

As to the events recorded in your note of June 15, 1921, No. 1798, although relating to internal affairs, I shall discuss them serially, in order to avoid any misunderstanding. Dr. Fuad Sabit, who is a military doctor, was reestablished in his former functions upon his return to Turkey, functions which, at a moment when Turkey was making common cause with Soviet Russia against world imperialism, were well above politics. While acting as a military doctor he made mistakes having no relation to politics, and it was these which led to his arrest. My Government did not wait for others to report the unfortunate end of Comrade Moustauha Soubhi and of his companions, victims of their own faulty tactics, before it punished the officials guilty of neglect of their duties and the individuals who had attacked the life and liberty of others. As concerns the reports of persecution of communists as such by organs of the national Government of Turkey, the official reports which I have from my Government state that the communists are constantly committing serious tactical errors, weakening the Turkish front by attempting a premature social revolution which at the moment the Turkish people do not at all desire, and openly and directly opposing the laws and regulations of the Great National Assembly of Turkey. In view of such action, I do not see how the action of the Turkish officials who apply the law against all trouble-makers in Turkey can be misinterpreted. As to the suggestion that the Turkish army was the cause and author of the bloody events at Alexandropol or of the tragic end of some of the inhabitants of that city, it is at least astonishing that officers of the Red army, allied with the Turkish army, should be victims of such inventions and should accept without proof such unfounded stories. It is clear from documents and copies of documents at the headquarters of our eastern army, some of which come from the communist organizations of Alexandropol and some from neutral institutions such as the American institutions, that all the victims referred to were sacrificed by the counter-revolutionaries when they refused to obey while the Turkish army was still far from those regions. As to the incidents at Kars and at Artivin, the data furnished by the Turkish Government indicated that they amount merely to a few perfectly legal arrests of persons who made themselves agents of our enemies by seeking to stir up discord between the two peoples of Turkey and of Russia.

Consequently, as I have often had occasion to point out to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, the internal policy of the Turkish people and of the Government of the Great National Assembly, which is only the executor of the popular will, is utterly different from that of the other governments which had usurped power in Turkey. The Government of the Great National Assembly is very far indeed from summary and bloody executions. The lesson of all this is that the same imperialism which in every age has masked its oppressive policy of domination of weaker peoples and has deceived the socialist world can still continue with impunity to play the same game in the same socialist world.

I permit myself to sum up again my point of view: The Turkish people which, after immense sacrifices has succeeded in taking its destiny into its own hands and which has continued the fight against imperialism when the communist world, its natural ally in this struggle, has already passed to a period of peace with this imperialism, believes it has the right to ask at least the moral support of the communist world, in the interest of the common cause for which the Turkish people is continuing the struggle.

ALI FUAD,
Turkish Ambassador at Moscow

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Russia's Foreign Trade

THE following table gives the total imports into Russia from the various western countries in poods (1 pood equals 36 pounds), and the percentage from each country, for the first five months of 1921. The table is taken from *Economischeskaya Zijn* (Economic Life) for June 29.

	Imports in poods	Percentage
Austria	3,472	0.1
Belgium	224,355	2.6
Denmark	223,146	2.6
Esthonia	1,269,571	14.9
Finland	11,700	0.1
France	39,349	0.5
Germany	1,510,474	17.7
Great Britain	2,361,651	27.8
Holland	126,709	0.5
Latvia	378,066	4.4
Norway	24,297	0.3
Persia	136,670	1.6
Poland	4,681	0.1
Switzerland	374,079	4.4
Turkey	6,135	0.1
United States	1,835,767	21.6
Miscellaneous	4,786	0.1
Total	8,534,908	

Total exports, not classified by country, in the first five months of 1921, were, according to the same authority:

	Poods
January	36,465
February	132,575
March	298,173
April	551,731
May	1,157,077
Total	2,176,021

Russia's Diplomatic Status

THE following list of nations already represented in Moscow by diplomatic or semi-diplomatic missions, or with which the Soviet Government has some sort of official relations, was checked as correct by the Associate Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, on July 5.

Full diplomatic relations:
- Afghanistan
- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Bokhara
- Esthonia
- Far Eastern Republic
- Finland
- Georgia
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Persia
- Poland
- Turkey

"Diplomatic representation":
- Germany

Trade Missions:
- Great Britain
- Italy
- Sweden

Consular representation:
- China
- Mexico

Prisoners' Exchange Missions:
- Austria
- Czecho-Slovakia

Negotiations in process:
- Belgium
- Denmark
- Norway

The British Leave Persia

THE British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, made in the House of Lords on July 26, 1921, an important address regarding the withdrawal of the British from Persia. The address in part follows, as recorded in the Official Report of the Parliamentary Debates:

[Speaking in the House of Lords on November 16, 1920] . . . I gave a short résumé of the position and experiences of Persia during the war, and in the course of which it was owing to the sacrifices and exertions of the British Government and the British forces alone that she had been saved, first, from the machinations of the Germans, secondly, from Turkish inroads, and lastly, from the invasion of Soviet forces on the north.

In those remarks I also gave a short summary of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which had been concluded between our Government and hers in August of the previous year. I indicated how, in the darkest hour of the Persian misfortunes, and in the almost complete collapse of her Government, we had offered, by the terms of this Agreement, to reorganize her finances, to reform her military administration, to enable her to create a national army, and to proceed to the development of her means of communication and her internal resources. For these purposes, I mentioned that the British Government had been willing to make a loan of £2,000,000 to the Persian Government. I ventured to say that no more disinterested and single-minded attempt was ever made by a Western Power to reestablish the existence, and secure the prosperity, of an Eastern country. . . .

There were already apparent serious obstacles in the path, to some of which the two noble Lords have referred. In the first place, there was the chronic instability of Persian Governments. . . . Secondly, there was the reluctance of these successive Persian Ministries to summon the Mejliss or Parliament. . . . The third difficulty was also alluded to by Lord Lamington—namely, the atmosphere of incurable intrigue that prevailed among Teheran politicians. Fourthly, our position in the North, at any rate, was successively weakened by the withdrawal of the British forces from Kazvin and the neighborhood, which was imposed upon us by considerations partly of expediency and partly of finance. I think the noble Lord asked whether their disappearance had meant any substantial change in the situation. I will come to that in a moment. Certainly, their disappearance was attended by an inevitable and natural weakening in the influence which we have been able to exercise at Teheran. Lastly, among these obstacles to which I refer may be mentioned the fact that already at that period the Persian Government was beginning to be afraid of revived Soviet Russia, and at the same time that her Ministers were endeavoring to extricate themselves from, or to repudiate the Anglo-Persian Agreement, they were negotiating, and they finally concluded, a new treaty with the Soviet authorities at Moscow. That treaty was signed in February, 1921.

. . . In the attitude it has adopted toward the Anglo-Persian Agreement the Persian Government has, in the exercise of what is now called self-determination, made its own choice. It has deliberately rejected the chance of recovering its fortunes with British aid. It has preferred to fall back upon the familiar game of playing off one foreign country against the other, and in the last resort it appears to be not unwilling to accept the caresses of the Soviet Government, caresses which usually end by strangling those to whom they are applied.

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11 Debate on Religion Between John Haynes Holmes and G. Bowne.
12 Poe's Tales.
13 Is Free Will a Fact or a Fallacy? Debate.
14 What Every Girl Should Know. Mrs. Sanger.
15 Balzac's Stories.
17 On Walking. Thoreau.
18 Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow. Jerome.
19 Nietzsche: Who He Was and What He Stood For.
20 Let's Laugh. Nasby.
21 Carmen. Merimee.
25 Rhyming Dictionary.
26 On Going to Church. Bernard Shaw.
27 Last Days of a Condemned Man. Hugo.
28 Toleration. Voltaire.
29 Dreams. Schreiner.
30 What Life Means to Me. Jack London.
31 Pelleas and Melisande. Maeterlinck.
32 Poe's Poems.
33 Brann: Smasher of Shams.
34 Case for Birth Control.
35 Maxims of La Rochefoucauld.
36 Soul of Man Under Socialism. Wilde.
37 Dream of John Ball. William Morris.
38 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Stevenson.
39 Did Jesus Ever Live? Debate.
40 House and the Brain. Bulwer Lytton.
41 Christmas Carol. Dickens.
42 From Monkey to Man.
43 Marriage and Divorce. Debate by Horace Greeley and Robert Owen.
44 Aesop's Fables.
45 Tolstoi's Stories.
46 Salome. Wilde.
47 He Renounced the Faith. Jack London.
48 Bacon's Essays.
49 Three Lectures on Evolution. Haeckel.
50 Common Sense. Paine.
51 Bruno: His Life and Martyrdom.
52 Voltaire. Victor Hugo.
53 Insects and Men: Instinct and Reason. Clarence Darrow.
54 Importance of Being Earnest. O. Wilde.
56 Wisdom of Ingersoll.
57 Rip Van Winkle.
58 Boccaccio's Stories.
59 Epigrams of Wit.
60 Emerson's Essay on Love.
61 Tolstoi's Essays.
62 Schopenhauer's Essays.
65 Meditations of Marcus Aurelius.
68 Shakespeare's Sonnets.
70 Lamb's Essays.
71 Poems of Evolution. Anthology.
72 Color of Life. E. Haldeman-Julius.
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If the noble Lord asks me how I view the situation thus created, I am fain to confess that I regard it with a feeling of disappointment, almost of despair. . . .

It would be singularly unbecoming of me to make any complaint or utter any reproach against the Persian Government. They are entitled to follow their own courses, and if they prefer to find salvation in Moscow they have a perfect right to do so. But I may be permitted, as an old friend, to speak to them and to utter a word of warning and to say that in the long run the main sufferers by the policy that is now being adopted will not be Great Britain and other countries, but will be Persia herself.

A number of questions about individual episodes or branches of the subject have been put to me by the two noble Lords, and I will endeavor to reply to them. Lord Lamington alluded to the presence at Teheran of Mr. Armitage Smith, a capable Treasury official, who, in pursuance of the terms of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, was sent out there last year to reorganize its finances. He has had a very troubled career. After the disappointment of the first few months he returned to this country, but in the hope of being able to do good work for the country to which he is so much attached, he returned there in the spring of the present year. He has with him a British staff of five members, and there are also two British advisers in the Ministry of Public Works. These are, I think, the sole British officials now in the administrative service of the Persian Government. The various British officers, who, in connection with the Agreement, were engaged in assisting Persia to reorganize her forces have either retired, or are about to retire, in disgust at the way they have been treated. The position of Mr. Armitage Smith, as I have indicated, is one of exceeding difficulty. . . .

Another question was about the present position of the South Persian Rifles. This force, as I think your Lordships know, was organized in the year 1916, under British and Indian officers, in order to preserve order. . . . I need hardly say that it was never intended to be a British force; or to typify the British occupation of that part of the country. On the contrary, it was a Persian force and was intended to be the nucleus of the Persian army of the future to which we were always prepared to hand it over.

Up till March 31 of this year this force was financed by the British and Indian Governments in combination. At that date, the Indian Government, in despair at the vacillation of the Persian authorities, withdrew their contribution. His Majesty's Government made a final contribution in order to facilitate the ultimate disbandment of this force, or its transference to the Persian authorities, should they so desire it. The present position is this: when that contribution is exhausted the force must inevitably be disbanded. The Persian Government have adopted toward this force the characteristic attitude. They profess a warm desire to take it over, but that desire is compatible with a proposal to dispense with the British officers who are responsible for its discipline and its utility, and with an extreme reluctance to find the pay. Lord Lamington said that he would regret the disbandment of this force. So would I. I think it would be calamitous. . . .

Land Reform in Bulgaria

THE *Economic Review* (London) for July 8 gives the substance of two acts sponsored by the Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture in his program of general agricultural reform. The texts follow:

The Extension of State Lands Act declares to be state property:

1. All lands, arable or pasture, exceeding 300 decares in extent and not farmed personally by the owner or occupier and their families.

2. All private forests and pastures exceeding 200 decares on the plains and 500 decares in the mountain districts.

3. All pasturages and forests, the subject of litigation between communes, if such litigation be not settled within three months of the date on which the act comes into operation. The compensation price for land thus expropriated not exceeding 100 decares, shall be the average of the prices ruling during the ten years preceding the war. These prices shall be reduced, in the case of lands exceeding 100 decares, on the following scale:

Decares.	Reduction. Per Cent.
100 to 300	10
300 " 500	20
500 " 1,000	30
1,000 " 2,000	40
Exceeding 2,000	50

Owners and occupiers not farming personally their land may remain in possession of it to the extent of not more than 300 decares, upon their declaration that within three years they will use it for the erection of industrial works connected with agricultural produce, or that they will convert it into vineyards, orchards, or pastures.

The Ownership of Land Based on Personal Labor Act provides that:

1. Any owner farming his own land may retain so much as will employ him and the members of his family.

2. The right of ownership based on manual labor is limited to 300 decares per family if farmed by the owner in person. Otherwise possession of land is limited to forty decares in the case of a bachelor and 100 in the case of the father of a family. The act does not apply to rural properties divided into lots farmed by related families, each of which is separately qualified for the ownership of property based on labor.

3. The P. F. B. T. (Propriété Foncière Basé sur le Travail) local commission is charged with ascertaining what properties are not farmed by their owners, and what properties have an area exceeding the legal maximum, and the D. P. F. B. T. (Direction de la Propriété Foncière Basé sur le Travail) shall, after the due formalities shall have been observed, proclaim the land not so farmed, and the land in excess of such legal maximum, to be state property. The land thus expropriated shall constitute an estate at the disposal of the D. P. F. B. T.

4. Land thus proclaimed to be state property may be farmed or leased by the state which has the full enjoyment of it. In the case of proved irregular expropriation the land shall be restored to its owner.

5. Land belonging to the National Bank and the Bank of Agriculture, land unsuitable for public forests, pasture belonging to the state, and kindred land not farmed by the Ministry of Agriculture shall be placed under the management of the D. P. F. B. T.

6. Land appertaining to the communal pasture and detached therefrom after the final demarcation and demeasurement of such pastures shall be assigned to the D. P. F. B. T. Common land encroached upon by private persons since 1903 shall be restored on the ruling of the communal council. Inquiries into such land shall be held until December 31, 1921. All suits between the communes and private persons on the ownership of land shall terminate, and the land in dispute shall be placed at the disposition of the communal D. P. F. B. T.

7. All surplus land belonging to monasteries and convents shall be expropriated, except land the cultivation of which is up to date.

8. Power to the owner of expropriated lands to designate within 14 days of the receipt of notice the parcels which he desires to retain.

9. Expropriated land shall be allotted to the following persons:

(*a*) Agriculturists duly certified not to be owner of lands and to be workiing on land of others.

(*b*) Agriculturists owning and farming themselves small

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properties with, or without a farm house, plant, and stock.

(*c*) Specialists in any branch of agriculture owning no land or land in insufficient quantity.

(*d*) Agricultural cooperative associations.

(*e*) Agricultural laborers owning no land, but who shall afford proper proof of their qualification for holding land.

(*f*) Agriculturists migrating from one commune to another in which they hold no land.

(*g*) Bulgarian agriculturists who have settled in the country after having emigrated from Bulgarian territory in the possession of foreign countries.

10. Such emigrants together with their implements and live stock shall be carried free by the Bulgarian railways.

11. No persons, who, for offenses against morality shall not possess land or shall have been deprived of their land, shall be entitled to receive land.

12. Land situated near towns or spas liable to be used for building purposes shall not be leased.

13. To persons having obtained land which does not contain a farm house, the local commission of the P. F. B. T. shall grant out of the property of that institution or out of the communal land, ground sufficient for the erection of a farm house, but not exceeding three decares.

14. For industrial purposes the local commission of the P. F. B. T. shall grant land out of the property of that institution or out of the communal pasture.

15. Land granted under the act is inalienable for a period of twenty years.

16. Persons who during three years shall have left the land granted to them uncultivated, or who shall not have cultivated it in a husbandlike manner, shall be deprived of it and their purchase money shall be refunded to them. The act then deals with the functions of the local commissions and of the D. P. F. B. T., and of the jurisdiction of the latter, the demarcation of boundaries, the process of expropriation and payment, the expenditure and revenue of the property of the D. P. F. B. T., penalties, and provisional enactments.

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